

F
194
.B94



WASHINGTON OLD AND NEW

By BARRY BULKLEY

Author of "The First Continental Congress," "The City of Washington," "The Yellowstone National Park," "The Panama Canal," "Portland, the City of Roses," "The United States Navy" and other manuscripts and lectures. "District Day" Lecturer at Pan-American Exposition, Lecturer by invitation of the Board of Education of New York City. and by request of the United States Government at Louisiana Purchase and Lewis and Clark Expositions

Written at Request of GEO. F. SCHUTT

WASHINGTON, D. C.
1914

154
B94

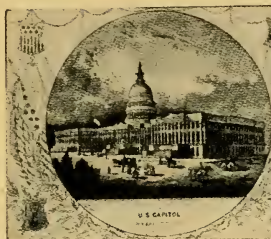
COPYRIGHTED 1913

BY

BARRY BULKLEY

215585
14

PRESS OF
WASHINGTON PRINTING CO.
WASHINGTON, D. C.



Preface

THIS little book aims to give the reader in concise form the events leading up to the selection of the site for the National Capital and to briefly trace its growth from the ante-bellum days and the period immediately succeeding the Civil War to the present time.

Grateful acknowledgement for helpful suggestions is made to the Hon. Robert Wickliffe Woolley, Auditor of the U. S. Treasury for the Interior Department; Charles Clinton Swisher, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of History, The George Washington University; Mrs. Mary Stevens Beall, Secretary of the Columbia Historical Society, and to the Honorable Henry B. F. Macfarland, whose loyalty to the District of Columbia and whose unselfish devotion to her interests have been a source of constant inspiration to her citizens.

B. B.



GEORGE WASHINGTON



CHAPTER 1

The Selection of a Permanent Capital

WASHINGTON is the splendid result of the first sordid political deal ever made in the Congress of the United States. It is the brilliant realization of the dream of a civic idealist, L'Enfant. It is the nation's pledge to the future of the perfect municipality. While named for our first President, Thomas Jefferson is responsible for its location on the banks of the Potomac. He saw a chance to drive for the South a bargain with Alexander Hamilton, in whose personal integrity he had the utmost confidence, but whose politics he despised and whose schemes for the welfare of the infant republic he mistrusted, and he drove it with a shrewdness and coolness which would do credit to a business statesman of to-day.

The selection of a permanent capital was squarely up to the First Congress, following the adoption of a Federal Constitution. Fully a dozen cities had good claims. Each of several of these had actually been the seat of government for brief periods during the disorderly and unsatisfactory existence of the Continental Congress. One day citizens of a town would glory in their good fortune; the next they would awake to find that hungry soldiers of the Revolution, demanding pay for services rendered, had caused the Convention to decide to move on with haste. Baltimore, Lancaster, York, Princeton, Trenton and Annapolis had all been

WASHINGTON—OLD AND NEW

temporary refugees following the enforced abandonment of Philadelphia in June, 1783, and each had substantial claims on the people. Precedent and the imagination, however, counted heavily in favor of the Quaker City or New York. The one was nearest to the then center of population and was *really* the cradle of American liberty; the other had already become the leading seaport of the country, and had the largest number of people.

In October, 1783, Elbridge Gerry offered a resolution to erect buildings for the use of the Continental Congress on the banks of the Potomac or of the Delaware. Six months later it was so amended as to provide for such building on both rivers; but the resolution was repealed altogether on April 26, 1784. In October, 1784, two Committees of Congress were appointed, under a resolution to select a place for the permanent capital either in New Jersey or in Maryland. The Maryland Committee was instructed to "examine and report on a location at or near the lower falls of the Potomac." But nothing came of its findings. The question continued to be uppermost in the minds of the lawmakers and the people down to the day of settlement in 1790. It was generally agreed that it would not be wise to locate the seat of the Federal Government in any State capital.

George Mason and James Madison were chiefly responsible for the action taken by the Constitutional Convention in 1787. Mason was for providing definitely against the selection of a State capital; Mr. Madison held that a central residence for the government was necessary. On the latter's motion, the Congress' powers under the constitution were added to as follows:

“To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may by cession of the particular States and the acceptance of Congress become the seat of government of the United States. Art. 1, Sec. 7.”

With the ushering in of the first Congress under the constitution the Capital question became fraught with danger. The New England and Eastern States demanded first Germantown, Pennsylvania. But the representatives from the Southern States stood fast for the Potomac. When the question came to a vote September 3, 1789, the New England members charged that the country along the latter was an unhealthy wilderness; Mr. Madison replied that the banks of the Susquehanna were even more unhealthy.

“The gentleman from Virginia seems to think the banks of the Potomac a paradise and that river a Euphrates,” retorted the brilliant Fisher Ames, of Massachusetts.

A Georgia member went so far as to predict that if the North insisted on the Susquehanna site it would “blow the coals of sedition and endanger the Union.”

Mr. Wadsworth, of Connecticut, said, “he did not dare to go to the Potomac; he feared the whole of New England would consider the Union destroyed.”

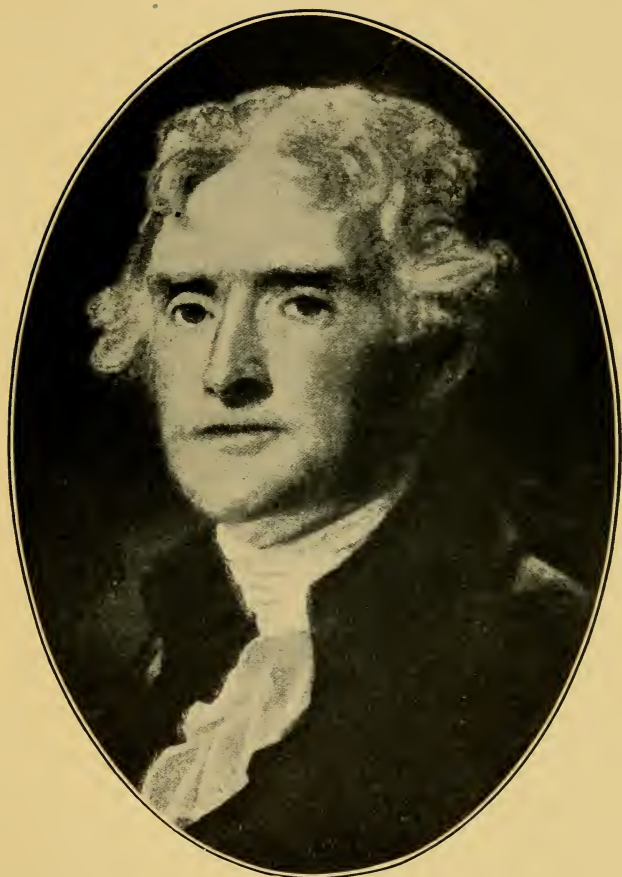
Richard Bland Lee, of Virginia, said: “If it should be found that confederacies of States east of Pennsylvania were formed, to unite their councils for their particular interests, disregarding the Southern States, they would be alarmed and the faith of all south of the Potomac would be shaken. Virginia had not solicited Congress to place the seat of Government in her State, only contending that the interests of the Southern and

Western country should be consulted; that their interests would be sacrificed if Congress fixed on any place but the Potomac."

Mr. Madison affirmed that "if the declarations and proceedings of this day had been brought into view in the Convention of Virginia, which adopted the Federal Constitution, he firmly believed Virginia would not have been a part of the Union at this moment."

As a result, the House adopted a resolution authorizing the President to appoint three Commissioners to select a site on the Susquehanna, in Pennsylvania. Later on the Senate, by a tie vote, which was broken by Vice-President Adams voting in the affirmative, decided on a district ten miles square at Germantown, Pennsylvania; whereupon the House passed the Senate Bill, with an amendment providing that the laws of Pennsylvania should continue in force in the Federal District. Only one day of the Senate remained, and the Bill finally died for want of action. The South's opportunity, seized upon by Jefferson, came with the defeat in the House in Committee of the Whole, April 12, 1790, of the bill, drawn by Alexander Hamilton, for funding the Federal debt and assuming the debts incurred by the thirteen States during the Revolutionary War. Those States whose debts were not embarrassing—Virginia was chief among these—maintained that it would be an invasion of State prerogatives for the General Government to levy taxes to pay debts contracted separately, by the respective States; furthermore, that it would be grossly unfair to them should they be obliged to share the burdens of States whose debts were considerable.

Alexander Hamilton contended that the credit of the new nation was at stake and he threw all of his



THOMAS JEFFERSON

splendid ability into the fight for the passage of what had come to be popularly known as the "Assumption Bill." Moreover, he foresaw that upon its enactment the federal bonds would be tightened and the importance of individual States correspondingly minimized. In a paper read before the American Historical Association in 1895, Gaillard Hunt states the issue as follows: "Upon the former (Assumption Bill) depended the financial standing of the new nation in the eyes of the world, while the latter (location of a permanent capital) was a measure of purely domestic concern. The two, however, had no connection with one another, yet, by a system since come to be known as 'log-rolling,' they became involved.

"The Eastern members of Congress desired the passage of the 'Assumption Bill,' but had no hope, for geographical reasons, of obtaining the capital. The members from the Middle States, on the other hand, were determined, if possible, that the seat of the Federal Government should be permanently located at Philadelphia or in that neighborhood. * * * But Virginia and Washington conceived that they also had claims to the Capital, and their respective legislatures had already taken steps to procure it.

"On December 27, 1788, before Congress had come together, the General Assembly of Virginia passed resolutions offering ten miles square of any portion of the State for the new Federal City—which the Constitution provided for, and (Alexander) White laid these resolutions before the National House of Representatives May 15, 1789. On the following day, Seney, of Maryland, offered a similar act from the legislature of his State. Maryland and Virginia were

not, however, in hostile rivalry in their efforts to obtain the Federal District. They contemplated its location on the banks of the Potomac, and they calculated upon jointly profiting in consequence."

On December 10, 1789, the General Assembly of Virginia informed the General Assembly of Maryland that it would advance \$120,000 toward the erection of public buildings in the new Federal City—if it should be located on the Potomac, provided Maryland would advance three-fifths of that sum, and at the November session, the Maryland Assembly appropriated \$72,000 for the purpose.

Mr. Jefferson was well aware that Mr. Hamilton's assumption scheme was bound to triumph eventually; by agreeing to use his influence to hasten its passage he could combine the Puritans and the Cavaliers and snatch the Capital from the Quakers. So he gave a dinner which he describes in his *Anas* as follows:

"As I was going to the President's one day, I met him (Hamilton) in the street. He walked me backward and forward before the President's door for half an hour. He painted pathetically the temper into which the Legislature had been wrought, the disgust of those who were called the creditor States, the danger of secession of their members, and the separation of the States. He observed that the members of the administration ought to act in concert; that though this question was not in my department, yet a common duty should make it a common concern; that the President was the center on which all the administrative questions ultimately rested, and all of us should rally around him; and that, the question having been lost by a small majority only, it was probable that an ap-

peal from me to the judgment and discretion of some of my friends might effect a change in the vote and the machine of government, now suspended, might be again set in motion. I told him that I was really a stranger to the whole subject; not having yet informed myself of the systems of finance adopted; I knew not how far this was a necessary sequence; that individually, if its rejection endangered a dissolution of our Union at this incipient state, I should deem that the most unfortunate of all consequences, to avert which all partial and temporary evils should be yielded. I proposed to him, however, to dine with me the next day, and I would invite another friend or two; bring them into the conference together and I thought it impossible that reasonable men, consulting together coolly, could fail with some mutual sacrifices of opinion to form a compromise which was to save the Union.

“The discussion took place. I could take no part in it but an exhortatory one, because I was a stranger to the circumstances which should govern it. But it was finally agreed that, whatever importance had been attached to the rejection of the proposition, the preservation of the Union and of Concord among the States was more important and that, therefore, it would be better that the vote of rejection be rescinded, to effect which some members should change their votes. But it was observed that this bill would be peculiarly bitter to the Southern States and that some concomitant measure should be adopted to sweeten it a little to them. There had before been propositions to fix the seat of government either at Philadelphia or at Georgetown on the Potomac, and it was thought by giving it to Philadelphia for ten years, and to Georgetown per-

manently afterwards, this might, as an anodyne, calm in some degree the ferment which might be excited by the other measure also. So two of the Potomac members (White and Lee, but White with a revulsion of stomach almost convulsive) agreed to change their votes, and Hamilton undertook to carry the other point. In doing this, the influence he had established over the Eastern members, with the agency of Robert Morris, with those of the Middle States, effected his side of the engagement, and so the assumption was passed, and twenty millions of stock divided among favored States and thrown in as pabulum to the stock-jobbing herd."

Jefferson gives us no further details, but it is significant that Hamilton carried out his part of the agreement first. The House passed the bill locating the Capital on the banks of the Potomac, between the Eastern Branch and Conococheague Creek, on July 9, 1790, by a vote of 32 to 29. It went through the Senate with little delay and was signed by the President a few days later.

Rumors that a bargain had been driven traveled as rapidly as the news that a Capital bill had at last been enacted, and the Middle States were far from happy over having the seat of government at Philadelphia for ten years only.

The question of the hour soon became: "Where in Hades is the Conococheague?" The rhymsters and the ready letter writers got busy in the newspapers of New York, Boston, Charleston and Albany. For the information of the reader of today, let it be known that this modest stream—a small creek—rises in Franklin County, Pennsylvania, and flows through Washington County, Maryland, and into the Potomac at Williams-



ALEXANDER HAMILTON

port, fully eighty miles from the mouth of the Eastern Branch. But the country above the Great Falls of the Potomac was never seriously considered.

✓ The President, under the law, had the right to choose any ten square miles he pleased between the two points and started his surveys at the extreme eastern boundary prescribed in the Act. He seems to have been perplexed only over the erection of the city in the Federal District. The owners of the land at the mouth of the Eastern Branch held out for what the President considered unreasonable prices. The land adjacent to Georgetown was then decided on, but the owners of it also demanded fancy sums and only came to terms after George Washington himself appeared and bargained with them personally.

An additional act of Congress, passed March 3, 1791, was necessary to fix the boundaries of the District of Columbia as finally constituted.

In his proclamation of January 24, 1791, the President "prescribed" four lines of experiment, beginning at Hunting Creek, on the Virginia shore, just below Alexandria and embracing a portion of territory beyond the Eastern Branch, and consequently not included in the law. A second proclamation was drawn at Georgetown in Jefferson's own hand, read by Washington at Mt. Vernon, all that was asserted about public buildings being stricken out, and it was returned to be engrossed before the President signed it, which he did on March 30.

On January 22, 1791, the President appointed Thomas Johnson and Daniel Carroll, of Maryland, and David Stewart, of Virginia, Commissioners for surveying the territory of the district accepted for the per-

manent seat of the Federal Government. It promptly became apparent, however, that the naming of this Committee was little more than a compliance with the letter of the act of July 16, 1790. Mr. Washington had already done the work. On January 24, just two days later, letters patent were issued to the effect "after duly examining and weighing the advantages and disadvantages of several situations" those portions of Maryland and Virginia which now constitute the District of Columbia and Alexandria County (the receded portion of the District) respectively had been chosen. This reaching out for territory not described in the original act, made necessary the second enabling act of Congress.

The date of the beginning of the survey may be fixed from the following correspondence: On February 2, 1791, Secretary of State Jefferson wrote Major Ellicott:

"You are desired to proceed by the first stage to the Federal Territory on the Potomac to make a survey of it."

Major Ellicott replied in part, February 14:

"I arrived at this town on Monday last, but the cloudy weather prevented any observation from being made until Friday, which was fine. On Saturday the two first lines were completed."

Ellicott officially reported on January 1, 1793, that he had completed the work of marking with boundary stones the outlines of the Federal territory.

Every school child knows today that the elaborate plans for a magnificent capital city within the District—now so nearly carried out and with such wonderful results—were drawn by Major Peter Charles L'Enfant.

His great work was done in obedience to the following order, dated March 11, 1791, and signed by Secretary of State Jefferson:

"Sir: You are desired to proceed to Georgetown, where you will find Mr. Ellicott employed in making a survey and map of the Federal territory. The especial object of asking your aid is to have drawings of the particular grounds most likely to be approved for the site of the Federal town and buildings. You will, therefore, be pleased to begin on the Eastern Branch, and proceed from thence upwards, laying down the hills, valleys, morasses and waters between that, the Potomac, the Tiber and the road leading from Georgetown to the Eastern Branch, and the whole within certain fixed points of the map Mr. Ellicott is preparing. Some idea of the height of the hills above the base on which they stand would be desirable. For necessary assistance and expenses, be pleased to apply to the Mayor of Georgetown, who is written on the subject. I will beg the favor of you to mark to me your progress about twice a week—say every Wednesday and Saturday evening—that I may be able in proper time to draw attention to some other objects which I have not at this moment time sufficient to define."

Washington took a tremendous interest in the embryo city. Frequent trips from his estate, Mt. Vernon, were made to Washington, where he conferred with Ellicott and L'Enfant, and he was kept constantly advised while at Philadelphia of the progress of the work of constructing buildings and laying out streets. In addition to having it become the most beautiful capital in the world, he wished it to be a great commercial center. That time has fulfilled this wish only in part is a constant source of gratification to those who real-

ize now the wisdom of having the Capital City primarily and largely the political, social, artistic and literary hub of the nation and a gathering place for great thinkers and achievers of great things from all parts of the world.

It is interesting to read in the *Washington Gazette* of June 25, 1796, the first paper published in the new city, a proclamation by President Washington, setting forth that the requirements of building all houses in the Federal city of brick or stone, and not less than 35 feet high, had retarded the settlement of the city by mechanics and others and that, therefore, it would be suspended until the year 1800.

Raising funds sufficient to defray the cost of constructing public buildings caused the Commissioners of the District frequently to hold public auction sales of lots, at one-third cash, balance payable in one and two years.

Probably the greatest speculator in these lots was an Englishman, Thomas Law. He was a son of the Bishop of Carlisle, and had made a fortune in India prior to coming to the United States. Law seems to have invested with recklessness and an optimism which would have put a Mulberry Sellers to shame. In the heyday of his fame, and business activities, he was married to Elizabeth Parke Custis, a granddaughter of Martha Washington. The union was not a happy one and in due time they were separated. Tradition has it that one morning, while he was at breakfast, his negro waiter announced:

"Massa Thomas, Missus Law died last night."

"The hell she did? Pass the potatoes," was his only reply.

Of Thomas Law, George Alfred Townsend says:



THOS. LAW

"One man only have I ever talked with who personally saw Thomas Law, namely, the late Christopher Lowndes, of Bladensburg, and his father took him to an oyster house somewhere in Washington, where they met a grave, sweet old man, with whom they had some oysters, and he read them a poem of his own."

Mr. Samuel Lorenzo Knapp pays Law this tribute: "Thomas Law, Esq., has, although now nearly an octogenarian, lately published a book upon currency. He is a man of no ordinary powers of mind. His life has been an eventful one. In England, his native country, he was considered a man of mind. In India he was distinguished for his financial talents, and was the great benefactor to the natives, by his judicious plans for their relief. He was the companion of Teignmouth and the friend of Sir William Jones. Active and enterprising, he saw the accounts of the establishment of our Federal city, and he hastened to this country to identify himself with its growth, *from the corner stone to the setting of the gates thereof*. He purchased largely of the soil, built on an extensive scale, suggested ten thousand plans for the improvement of the city, and for the prosperity of the nation; but the slow, doubtful, and often strange course of Congress, came not only in his way, but in the way of all those deeply interested in the welfare of the city; and he has spent the days of his maturity and wisdom in unavailing efforts for the improvement of it. It is happy for him, however, that he has lived to see the dawn of a better day for Washington; and if he cannot stay here long to enjoy it, as a good man he will rejoice in the hopes of his friends and descendants. If his disappointments have been numerous, yet it cannot be said that they have soured his temper or hardened his

heart, or that his tenants have felt his resentment, because he was deceived by those who could have favored his plans. In this world, the insults received from those above us, are often repeated by those below us, in pitiful and aggravated forms."

David Burns, Washington's "obstinate Mr. Burns," owned much of the site of the future Federal city, an inheritance through several generations of Scotch ancestors, and with him President Washington had largely to do in his negotiations for the land.

And there were others, too, with an eye to the windward for a real estate speculation, as Thomas S. Woodward attests: "I picture William Prout, the staid Baltimore merchant; Benjamin Stoddert, the Revolutionary soldier; Robert Morris, the great financier of the colonies; Samuel Blodgett, the lottery man; the Youngs, gentlemen of the manor born; James Greenleaf, the prince of schemers; Thomas Law, the man of the world; George Walker, the canny Scotsman, and all the lesser lights, clad in the quaint costume of the time, doing business as real estate brokers after the most approved methods."

Richard Parkinson, who toured America in 1798 to 1800, and published two volumes of interesting impressions, reports that there were only 300 houses in Washington when he visited it and that the time was not ripe for starting a brewery there. Mr. Parkinson further states: "If a man wants wit, he may go to America; but if he wants money and comfort he should stay at home." A man named Blodgett undertook to build a hotel from the proceeds of a lottery. He succeeded, and, according to a report published in the *Washington Gazette* at the time, was about the only beneficiary of the drawings. The completed building

WASHINGTON — OLD AND NEW

seems to have been almost as much of a fraud as the proprietor, for it soon collapsed.

Many descriptions of the Washington of that day have been handed down to us. Thomas Moore, the Irish poet, wrote one in 1804, which aptly epitomizes those written in 1800, the year when the seat of Government was formally transferred from Philadelphia to Washington, as follows :

"This embryo capital where fancy sees
Squares in morasses, obelisks in trees ;
Which second-sighted seers, even now, adorn
With shrines unbuilt, and heroes yet unborn,
Though naught but woods and Jefferson they see,
Where streets should run and sages ought to be."



CHAPTER II

The Washington of Ante-Bellum Days

LITTLE does the average person who justly glories in the beauties and wonders of Washington of today realize what a hopeless looking and disgusting spot it was in October, 1800, when President John Adams and his practical and literary spouse, Abigail, arrived there by stage coach and took up their abode at the new marble mansion, known these hundred years and more as the White House. Old John Randolph, of Roanoke, has likened it unto "the great Serbonian bog." Daniel Carroll's ancestral acres covered the major portion of Capitol Hill and the lots into which he was subdividing them were held at such prohibitive figures that many homebuilders were being forced into the lowlands, where David Burns and Notley Young, a retired English sea-captain, were literally doing a "land office business" in what is now known as the northwest section of the city. The disgust of Cabinet officers and Congressmen at leaving Philadelphia, where the Capital had been located for ten years, for such a place is reflected in their diaries and in newspaper articles published at the time.

It is well to explain here that had Major Peter Charles L'Enfant been allowed to keep secret his plan of the city until the sites of the Capitol, Executive Mansion and other public buildings in immediate contemplation had all been located and the avenues and cross streets laid out, much of this confusion and unpreparedness could have been avoided. He foresaw the

activities of land boomers and other "get-rich-quick" men and resolved to keep secret as far as possible all desired information. Only Major Andrew Ellicott, who was assisting him as surveyor or geographer, knew exactly what was being done. In 1792 the three District Commissioners ordered L'Enfant to submit his plan to them in order that it might be engraved and published for the benefit of those intending to buy lots at the Government sales. Having arranged a certain system of construction and having allowed no one to deviate from it in the least, even having gone to the length of tearing down a house which was being erected across an avenue, he felt that he would be untrue to himself and to his trust if he were to obey such an order. So President Washington dismissed him March 1, 1792. Upon the recommendation of Thomas Jefferson, by direction of the President, that he "should have no cause of discontent," the Commissioners notified L'Enfant that they had ordered five hundred guineas (\$2,500) paid to him. He promptly declined the money and retained the original draft of his plan to the day of his death, June 4, 1824, at Dudley Digges's Chillum Castle estate, near Bladensburg, Md. This draft is in the office of the architect of the Capitol, torn and dingy and yellow with age. Ellicott succeeded L'Enfant, followed out his ideas, which he knew by heart, making only a few minor changes, and his plan, engraved by Thackara and Wallace, of Philadelphia, in 1792, was published in this country and Europe. Hence the "land sharks" and chaos. The records show that grasping and visionary owners on the one hand and those rapacious and often unscrupulous speculators on the other frequently caused President Washington to retire to Mount Vernon in disgust. He

dealt with these people direct in many instances, and on one occasion the vulgar David Burns, in reply to an argument in favor of transferring certain lands to the Government, said: "I suppose, Mr. President, you think the people are going to take grist from you as pure grain; but what would you have been if you had not married the rich widow Custis?"

There was great commotion in the "mudhole" and on "the hill" when, one morning in October, 1800, a little "packet sloop," bringing the records and furniture of the departments and some of the officials, dropped anchor in the Potomac. Practically the entire population of the city gathered on the riverbank and indulged in an hysterical welcome. President and Mrs. Adams, Secretary of State John Marshall, Secretary of the Treasury Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of War Samuel Dexter and Secretary of the Navy Benjamin Stoddert arrived by stage from Baltimore the following day. They found the executive mansion ready for occupancy, the buildings for housing the executive departments nearly completed, and one wing of the Capitol ready for the Congress, which was to begin its session in a few weeks. Abigail Adams promptly dubbed Washington the "Wilderness City."

"Those who had opposed its location were merry over 'its exceedingly mean and disgusting appearance,'" says Stilson Hutchins in his "The National Capitol," "apparently forgetting that Congress had given scant aid to the Commissioners in the work of construction, and had left them to depend for money almost entirely on chance gifts and the proceeds of the land sales.

"When one reads the records of the vexatious delays in erecting the public buildings and improving the

WASHINGTON — OLD AND NEW

highways for lack of means, of the quarrels among those in authority, of the jealousy and opposition constantly displayed, the wonder is not that the capital city was a mean, dismal place in 1800 and only fit to be the laughing stock of the country, but that its builders should have been able in the face of the obstacles they encountered to make it bear the slightest semblance to a city."

From 1800 to 1815 was a critical period for the new city. Many even in official life were skeptical as to its future, the anticipated rapid growth was not materializing, failures as a result of feverish speculations in town lots and of erecting buildings beyond the demands of business were numerous and scandalous. There was a general desire that the whole scheme should be abandoned. Removal to any of a dozen places would have been heartily welcomed. The American people were apparently indifferent to their capital city. They simply refused to be interested in its building or in the proper conduct of its local affairs. How often have they been charged in more recent years with being just as apathetic! That the population increased from 8,208 in 1810 only to 13,474 in 1820 was exasperating to the optimistic friends of the city. Jurisdiction over the District of Columbia, which included the present District and what is now Alexandria City, Va., and contained the separate cities of Washington, Georgetown and Alexandria, was formally assumed by Congress in 1801. Washington was incorporated in 1802 and the President was empowered to appoint its Mayor, the people being allowed to elect only the Council. This plan caused much dissatisfaction. So a few years later Congress transferred to the Council and to the people the right to elect the Mayor. No further

material change in the municipal form of government was made until 1871, when the city charter was repealed and a territorial form of government was established.

Yet this was the Washington of Thomas Jefferson, of James and Dolly Madison, of James Monroe, of Henry Clay in the prime of his brilliant career, of Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr, of John Randolph, and of the early political days of Daniel Webster and John C. Calhoun. It was the Washington of strife and trials for the young republic—those were really days of beauty, of wit and chivalry—and of a genuine Democracy.

By far the most authentic account of the capital of that period is to be found in a small book written by Jonathan Elliott eighty years ago. In part, he says: "President Jefferson did much to further the prosperity of the city by procuring grants of money for carrying on the public buildings; he also gave encouragement to all the improvements brought forward during his administration. He caused Pennsylvania Avenue to be opened and planted with trees. President Madison was also friendly to the city, but owing to the restrictions on commerce and the subsequent war during his administration little progress was made in the public works. But it was in the administration of President Monroe that the most extensive and valuable improvements were made in every part of the city, and the public money expended on the national works with the greatest liberality."

It is interesting to look over the files of the *National Intelligencer*, the leading newspaper of that period. We learn that the Great Hotel, erected in 1793 by Samuel Blodgett on the square now occupied by the

General Land Office, was a popular abiding place for a few years, but following the disastrous failure of its owner, was supplanted in public favor by the "Little Hotel" and the Metropolitan Hotel, whose name was changed in 1820 to "Indian Queen." The latter was conveniently located on Pennsylvania Avenue and was a favorite resort with Congressmen. The fame of Jesse Brown, the genial proprietor, became international. We learn also from the *National Intelligencer* that Washington was the scene of much pleasant social activity, which seems to have been of a most democratic nature. "The inhabitants are social and hospitable, and respectable strangers, after the slightest introduction, are invited to dinner, tea, balls and evening parties."

Naturally, the overshadowing local event of the first twenty years of the City of Washington's existence as the capital of the Nation, was the burning of the White House and the Capitol building August 24, 1814, by the British. The visit of the enemy was not wholly unexpected, but it threw the high officials into a state of panic just the same. News that British troops had been landed on the banks of the Patuxent River and were marching across Maryland to the capital was received by courier and preparations to evacuate the city, with only a show of resistance, were promptly made. First reports were that the enemy was 16,000 strong. On August 21, President Madison, accompanied by the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy, joined General Winder, who commanded about 3,000 American troops and was encamped at Wood's, a point to the southeast of the city. The following day they returned to see that all books and papers of the department were sent away and that all citizens left

WASHINGTON—OLD AND NEW

the place. Winder's troops gave battle to the British at Bladensburg, five miles out of Washington, but were soon put to rout, fleeing in all directions. The enemy encountered real opposition, however, from a few hundred sailors with cannon commanded by Commodore Joshua Barney, a privateersman, who were holding a hill near the city. In due time they, too, were put to flight and their commander, badly wounded, was captured.

So easy was the entrance to Washington that General Ross and his British troops seemed to regard the excursion from the Patuxent as a sort of schoolboys' prank. Arriving at the Capitol grounds early in the evening of the 24th, they fired into the windows of the building and then marched into the House of Representatives wing. Troops filled the chamber. Admiral Cockburn, commander of the naval force, was escorted to the chair by General Ross. He rapped for order and shouted: "Shall this harbor of Yankee Democracy be burned? All for it say aye!" The response was unanimous and the approval uproarious. Then the shout went up: "Fire the building." Ross gave the order. All papers, books, pictures and other combustible materials were heaped on the floor in the center of the Hall and a lighted torch applied. The flames spread rapidly. When the ruin of the beautiful building was complete the troops proceeded to the Executive Mansion to continue their job of destroying the seat of government.

Dolly Madison remained at the White House until after the Battle of Bladensburg. The President sent messages to her, advising her to flee to a place of safety. On receiving his message, August 24, between 2 and 3 P. M., she ordered sent away in a wagon silver plate



DOLLY MADISON

and many other valuables to be deposited in the Bank of Maryland at Baltimore. Then she turned her attention to the full length portrait of George Washington, painted by Stuart. Finding the process of unscrewing the massive frame from the wall too cumbersome, she ordered it broken to pieces, and then personally removed the canvas. J. G. Barker and R. G. L. De Peyster, two visitors from New York, entered the room at this juncture. As the picture lay on the floor, they heard troops approach.

"Save that picture," ordered the fascinating Dolly. "Save it if possible; if not possible, destroy it; under no circumstances allow it to fall into the hands of the British."

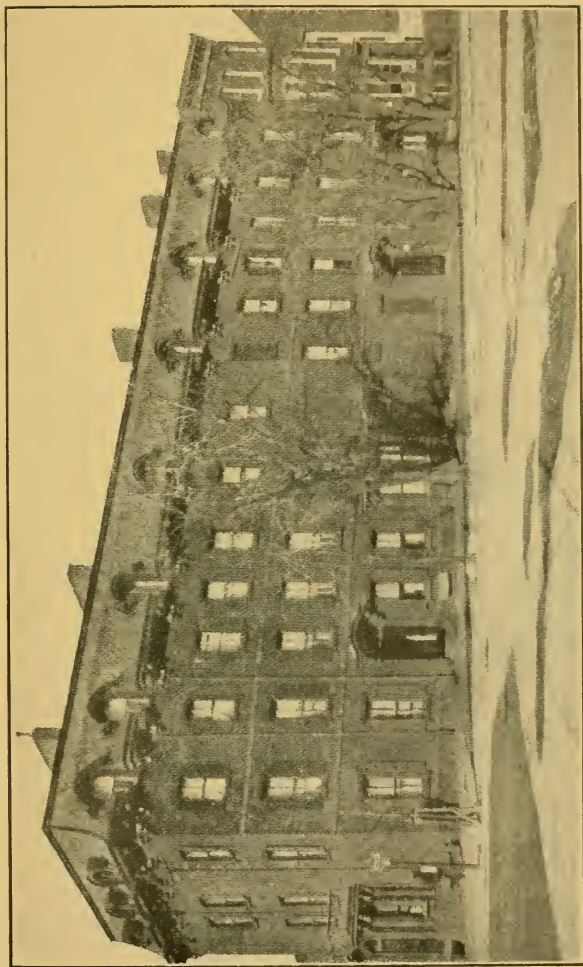
President Madison had arrived. Mrs. Madison snatched up the engrossed original of the Declaration of Independence, hastened to the carriage and drove with her husband and her sister to a refuge beyond the Potomac. Barker and De Peyster joined the retreating army and left the picture at a farm house. It was returned to Mrs. Madison a few weeks later and now hangs in the Blue Room of the White House. The Declaration of Independence is carefully preserved, in a glass case, at the State Department. The destruction of the Executive Mansion was practically complete, only a part of the walls being left standing. It was not rebuilt until 1818.

On the day following these awful depredations, the British troops robbed and burned stores and dwellings at will. They destroyed the workshop in the Navy Yard, the fort at Grenleaf's, and would doubtless have left not even a shanty standing had they not received a report that night that a large force of American troops was about to enter the city. This caused them

to retreat post haste, every man for himself, to Marlboro. A few days later they went aboard their ships and sailed away to the Chesapeake Bay and safety.

For some time following this remarkable and humiliating occurrence, it looked as if nothing could prevent the removal of the National Capital farther inland or at least to some point where it would be better protected against a foreign foe. Advocates of new centers, even of a few west of the Alleghanies, were especially active in their efforts to secure it. They fought hard, doing everything they could think of to prevent appropriations for the restoration of the public buildings. In February, 1815, however, Congress passed a bill authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to borrow \$500,000 for the purpose. That settled the matter for all time. Land boomers became active again, but there was also plenty of legitimate private enterprise, and in the next decade Washington increased materially in population and in beauty. The better understanding with the British, as a result of General Andrew Jackson's successful termination of the war, seemed to inspire the Capital and Nation alike with a hope and a confidence which had never before been evident. As was inevitable, the city rapidly became a center of wealth and fashion.

Second in social and political importance only to the burning of the Capitol and the White House was the two weeks' visit of General, the Marquis de Lafayette, which began Tuesday, October 12, 1824. He drove through the city in a barouche drawn by four white horses, which were led by grooms in white livery. Many military companies, civic societies, etc., formed a parade more than two miles long. On the line of march the distinguished warrior was met by 25 beauti-



FRANKLIN HOUSE

(Hotel kept by Wm. O'Neal, father of Peggy O'Neal. Vice-President Clinton died in this house, April 1812)

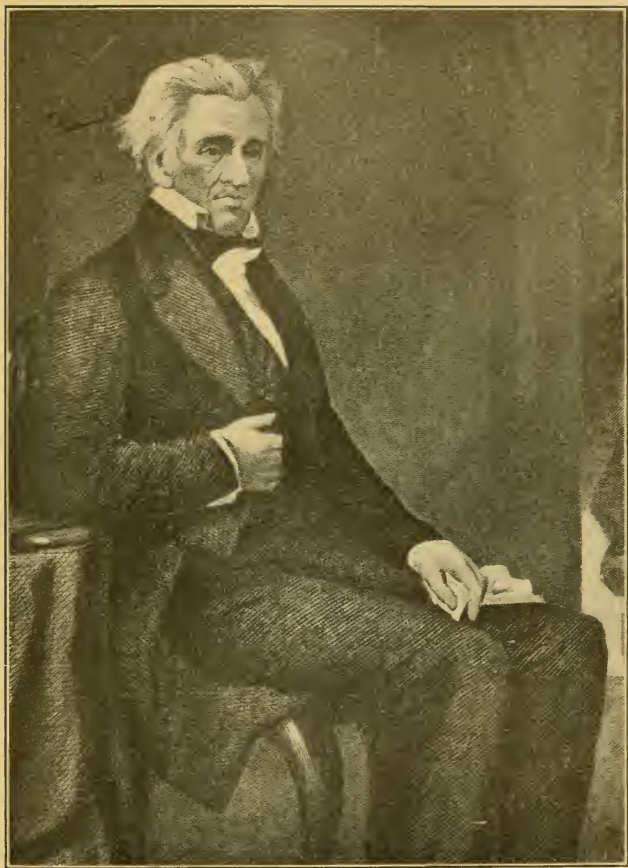
ful maidens attired in white muslin and blue scarfs, their heads decorated with wreaths of red flowers. They were supposed to represent the 24 States of which the Union was at the time composed and the District of Columbia. At the Capitol, Henry Clay, then Speaker of the House of Representatives, greeted him; President Monroe showed him marked distinction at the White House. Many and brilliant were the entertainments given in honor of Lafayette. Not more than two decades ago there resided in Washington a number of persons who remembered them vividly and were wont to describe them.

"During the early month of 1829 an affair at Washington, known as the Eaton scandal, created much public excitement," says Henry William Elson in his "History of the United States." "This matter would not merit the notice of serious history but for the permanent effect it had upon the Administration. Many years before this time a William O'Neal had kept a tavern at Washington, and his house became the lodging place of many Government officials. Among the boarders was Senator John H. Eaton from Tennessee. O'Neal had a daughter, a witty young beauty, known over the city as Peggy O'Neal. She was quite free with the inmates of her father's house, and especially with Mr. Eaton—until the gossips were set going and her name became tainted. At length Peggy O'Neal married a Mr. Timberlake, of the navy, but he died by suicide in the Mediterranean; and in January, 1829, Eaton, who was still in the Senate, married the widow. Mrs. Eaton now set out to gratify the ambition of her life—to become a leader in Washington society. But her former history was exhumed and most of the ladies of the city refused to recognize her. This was the

state of affairs when Jackson arrived in the city. Eaton had been one of his chief campaign managers and the O'Neals had a warm place in Jackson's heart, as he also had been their guest while serving in the Senate a few years before.

"Remembering the slanders against his own wife, now deceased, believing Mrs. Eaton to be innocent and believing also that the gossip about her was inspired by Henry Clay with the object of ruining her husband, Jackson determined to espouse the cause of the Eatons. He appointed Mr. Eaton to his Cabinet and did everything in his power to clear the name of his wife and to give her a standing in society. He wrote scores of letters, he called Cabinet meetings, he attended stately dinners—all for Mrs. Eaton. But the women who held the key to the inner sacred circle declined to open the door to Mrs. Eaton. General Jackson now practically informed the members of his Cabinet that their political fortunes depended on the recognition by their wives of Mrs. Eaton; but these men were powerless; their wives simply refused, and that was the 'end of it.' Even the President's niece, the mistress of the White House, made a stand. 'Anything else, Uncle, I will do for you, but I cannot call on Mrs. Eaton. I must go back to Tennessee, my dear,' said the niece, and she went back to Tennessee. That day Lord of New Orleans, the old iron warrior who had never known defeat in battle, was completely defeated by the women. The Cabinet was now inharmonious in the extreme, and after hanging together till the spring of 1831, it broke to pieces and a new Cabinet was formed.

"Aside from disrupting the Cabinet, the Eaton scandal had another and still more marked effect on American history. It built the fortunes of the Secretary of



ANDREW JACKSON

State. Martin Van Buren was at this time a widower and without daughters, and he could well afford to give his energies to the cause that was so dear to his chief. He called on Mrs. Eaton; he arranged balls and dinners for her; he spoke of her virtue in every social circle; he sought out the British and Russian ministers, both bachelors, and secured their aid in pushing Mrs. Eaton to the front. And he succeeded, not in having her recognized in Washington society, but in intrenching himself in the heart of General Jackson. Never from this moment was there a break between the two, though as unlike they were as winter and balmy spring. It was soon after this time that Jackson decided to name Van Buren as his choice for the Presidential succession, and his decision was final, for his party was all powerful, and he swayed the party as Jefferson had done thirty years before."

From 1820 to 1860 the city of Washington was badly governed and was still far from pleasing to look upon. It was the Washington of John Marshall and Roger B. Taney, of "Tippecanoe (Harrison) and Tyler, too," of Thomas H. Benton and James K. Polk, of Buchanan and Breckinridge, but it was not yet a comfortable abiding place. The following description from "The National Capital," by Stilson Hutchins and Joseph West Moore, tells in a nutshell what conditions were:

"A writer draws this picture of society: 'The first things that strikes a stranger is the affectation of style and fashion which seems to pervade almost every rank and class. The President opens his drawing room every fortnight for reception of such as may please to visit him; and his Cabinet secretaries give dinners and evening parties during the session of Congress. The subordinate officers of the Government, clerks, etc.,

also follow the example, and although their salaries are small and their means limited, they fancy it would be unpardonable not to ape those above them and be what is called fashionable, and thus they plunge into the vortex of ruin. They give evening parties, pay morning visits with cards, in their own carriages, or any they can procure, give routs, go to assemblies, and, in short, exhibit every folly their superiors think proper to practice because it is said to be *haut ton* and they cannot think of being unfashionable, whatever may be the result.

"Every one who lived in what was called the 'court end' of the city kept a carriage of some kind, and it was said 'many persons would even ride to church when the distance was not more than a hundred paces.' Members of Congress were in great request for all the parties, and the prominent ones could not accept half the invitations they received. Outside of its fashionable life, however, the city was apparently in 'a long dead calm of fixed repose,' and its development year by year was very slow. It was not until 1830 that Pennsylvania Avenue, the central thoroughfare, was paved, and then it was done cheaply and badly. There were only two small public schools. On August 25, 1835, the Washington branch of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was opened, but it was as late as 1851 that stages to the West ceased to run. In 1836 the Long Bridge across the Potomac to Virginia was opened, and has continued in use to the present day. It was constructed at a cost of \$100,000 and is a mile in length.

"In 1840 the city had 23,364 people. On the 1st of March, 1844, a terrible catastrophe occurred. A large party of officials and prominent residents visited the

WASHINGTON — OLD AND NEW

warship 'Princeton,' lying off Alexandria, and sailed in her a short distance down the river. On the return trip a cannon burst while being fired, killing Secretary of State Upshur, Secretary of the Navy Gilmer, and three other persons, and seriously injuring eighteen others. From 1840 to 1850 the gain in population was nearly 17,000; from 1850 to 1860, over 21,000. The census of the latter years shows a population of 61,222, and in the entire District of Columbia, 75,080. Washington entered upon the trying years of the Civil War a very unattractive place. Those who had business with the Government came to the city, looked with surprise and contempt at its muddy, unpaved streets and rude, insignificant private buildings, and went away as soon as possible. It was a capital sprawling over a great territory, but remarkable only for its distances and discomforts and its listless daily life."



CHAPTER III

Washington During and After the Civil War

ALL IMPRESSIONS of hasty travel are necessarily chaotic, but it must be admitted that Charles Dickens, who did not see the "States" as a normal traveler does, had formed a pretty accurate estimate of our national capital on his first visit to the United States.

In his "American Notes" he gives a description of the Federal City in 1842, which truthfully applies twenty years later:

"It is sometimes called the City of Magnificent Distances, but it might with greater propriety be termed the City of Magnificent Intentions, for it is only on taking a bird's-eye view of it from the top of the Capitol, that one can at all comprehend the vast designs of its projector, an aspiring Frenchman. Spacious avenues, that begin in nothing, and lead nowhere; streets, miles long, that want houses, roads and inhabitants; public buildings that need but a public to be complete; and ornaments of great thoroughfares which lack only great thoroughfares to ornament—are its leading features. * * * It has no trade or commerce of its own; having little or no population beyond the President and his establishment; the members of the legislature who reside there during the session; the Government clerks and officers employed in the hotels and boarding-houses; and the tradesmen who supply their tables.

"Few people would live in Washington, I take it, who were not obliged to reside there, and the tides of

emigration and speculation, those rapid and regardless currents, are little likely to flow at any time towards such dull and sluggish waters."

While Dickens is represented as viewing America with ill nature, coldness, or even animosity, it cannot be denied that the picture he gives of the City of Washington at the time of his tour of our country is substantially correct.

In "Bentley's Miscellany" for 1861 appeared an article entitled "The Federal City of Washington," by J. G. Kohl, evidently a foreigner. "The streets are miles in length and superfluously broad, and in the suburbs small cottages stand at wide intervals. Only in the center is there a more compact body, and the whole resembles a frame of Berlin woodwork in which the fair embroidress has made spasmodic attempts at commencement * * *"

"There is no state in the world which possesses proportionately so small, scantily populated, and shabby a capital as the American Union * * * Pennsylvania Avenue connects the House of Congress and the White House in a straight line, and is hence one of the principal arteries of circulation in the city. It was for a long time the only paved street in Washington, and, indeed, the majority of the streets are still without that useful article. During the rainy weather, consequently, the city is a swamp and the dry season constantly full of dust clouds. Along Pennsylvania Avenue are the principal shops, and hence it is the favorite, almost sole, promenade of the fair sex. * * * A little muddy stream, which in winter bears a little water along the base of the Capitol, but in summer is hardly liquid enough for geese, is called Tiber Creek. * * *

WASHINGTON—OLD AND NEW

"Washington is well provided with pleasant gardens, clumps of trees, alleys and flower beds. This circumstance, and especially that of the long rows of trees accompanying the streets, gives the city a very pleasant aspect and it looks like a large rural village. The prettiest gardens and public places are around the White House or the Mansion, as it is called in the higher and official style. * * * During spring, which often begins here in February with the pleasantest day and the mildest air, the city assumes an almost idyllic garb.

"The kine pasture in the streets, the bull frogs croak and roar in the side lanes. The birds of passage twitter in all the trees and the humming birds flash around every flower. * * * A portion of the Washington street population consists of negroes, both free and slaves. * * * On Sunday the city appears almost entirely to belong to the negroes, for on that day they, and especially their wives, or, as they call them, 'ladies,' parade in the most elegant costumes, the most glaring colors, the broadest crinolines, rustling in silks, and most closely imitating the white ladies and gentlemen."

The following is an extract from a paper by Mrs. Mary E. W. Sherwood, appearing in "Lippincott's Magazine," in August, 1894:

"It was a straggling mudhole in winter, but when spring came it was as beautiful (in spots) as it is now, and it had a gentler climate than at present. I have picked roses in January in Mrs. Seaton's garden.

"Mrs. Fremont, her sister Sue Benton, some pretty girls named Smith, the gifted nieces of Madame Calderon, the beautiful Mrs. Barton Key; in fact, all our neighbors, on summer evenings would run about to

visit each other without bonnets. People sat on door-steps and I have often seen a set of intimates walk up Pennsylvania Avenue to the old Capitol grounds, attended by Senators and secretaries, with their heads bare, at seven o'clock on a fine summer evening." How delightful the informality characterizing the social intercourse of fifty years ago!

Could Kohl or some other of his foreign contemporaries revisit the Capital city today, they would find much in Pennsylvania Avenue to remind them of the past, but in the magnificent city spreading gracefully out before them in strict conformity with the plans of the gifted L'Enfant they would detect nothing to suggest the "straggling mudhole" of the 60's.

To properly understand the growth of the city it is but necessary to reflect that its population fifty years ago was only about one-fourth of what it is at the present day; there was no municipal improvement of any importance; everything was neglected in the "all absorbing question of slavery and the fate of the Union." The muddy streets, now well paved avenues, resounded to the tramp of marching troops; where now are the homes of the rich were then the hovels of the poor; the beautiful parks and government reservations of today were then used as camps and barracks; frowning forts "with bristling guns broke through the verdure of the adjacent fields and crowned the hills on either side of the Potomac."

Small chance was there at the close of the war or in the next few succeeding years for formulating a plan for municipal improvement. Washington was a disorganized, hopeless and disrupted community.

Although at the commencement of the Capitol in 1851 the city began to show some signs of substantial

prosperity, it was not until the year 1872 that it began to afford an evidence of its subsequent strength and greatness. Washington surely needed a shock of awakening. The agitation for the change of the seat of government was as great at the close of the Civil War as it had been after the burning and invasion by the British in 1814. Sixty years after that time the city was still in an unfinished state; the Capitol was incomplete; the White House was out of repair; the streets were mainly swamps, and there was a general despondency about the site.

The timely impetus to civic awakening was given in rather an amusing way. "A red bearded, crippled, Quilpish-looking man, of St. Louis, Missouri, by name Mr. L. Q. Reavis, with a certain sense of resistance about him and an uncertain sense of reformation took it in his head that St. Louis had been slighted and ought to be the Capital of the Government. He had a simple nature, a love of circulation and public consideration, and some hopes of authorship. Perfectly honest, always approachable, always approaching, loose and continuous in argument, striking high for eminent attention, and carrying acquaintance by the assiduity with which he cultivated it, Mr. Reavis tested to extremities the power of the unit of citizenship to upset the Capital city and drag it away. His ingenuities were all in the noblest nature of destructiveness. He had very little to propose in the way of reconstruction, and was indifferent whether the public edifice should be carried away piecemeal or abandoned to the unworthy people on the Potomac. But it happened at the moment that the strength of the dominant part in the West, the fever of change, the opening of the Pacific Railroad and other lines to the extreme frontier, and perhaps more



ALEXANDER R. SHEPHERD

than all the rising agitation on the subject of free trade which the Western free traders hoped to settle in their favor by getting Congress amongst them, gave a noisy, and it was thought a favorable, celebrity to Mr. Reavis' scheme. Mr. Horace Greeley favored the removal in the *New York Tribune*, and a convention or two were held in St. Louis.

"The conservative sense, reverence and thrift of the nation prevailed, however, and Congress settled the question by voting a large sum of money to begin a grand State Department at Washington which should cost several millions. The city itself at its own expense put on a new apparel, and the national appropriations of 1872-3 were unusually generous and even excessive."

With the advent of Alexander R. Shepherd upon the scene any further serious consideration of the change of the seat of government ceased. His was the master hand, his the directing force and energy controlling the new and greater Washington.

Alexander R. Shepherd was a native of the District who had been fairly successful in a number of business enterprises. His building operations began timidly at first in 1865, but gradually increased in magnitude. He put up "several Philadelphia rows of brick houses adjacent to the old Duddington house of the Carrolls" and also built the first business structure of any consequence on Pennsylvania Avenue. President Grant was quick to recognize the zeal and ability of Shepherd, and was the first to take up in a large way the plans of Washington which had been developed by L'Enfant, but which had remained untouched for nearly three-quarters of a century, because of the neglect of the National Government. Former Commissioner Henry B. F. Macfarland, in one of his many interesting and

instructive addresses upon the National Capital, says: "He (Grant) helped Alexander R. Shepherd, the bright young Washingtonian, strong of frame and mind, to secure from Congress, which is the Supreme Legislative authority for the District of Columbia, power to make real and actual the paper streets and avenues of Washington's plan, and Alexander R. Shepherd, the Commissioners and the Congress of the United States from the dusty map of this talented Frenchman impressed upon the marshes, upon the woodlands and on the hills its outline, and, out of the green earth arose the new Washington, as from the stroke of the enchanter's wand."

An enthusiastic writer has this to say about the improvements accomplished, and projected, during Grant's first administration: "Washington changed character almost entirely after the war. Northern capital moved in and fine architecture prevailed in private buildings. The very form of government was altered and a Board of Public Works took the paving of streets out of the hands of the local legislature.

"The appropriations are now greater than they have ever been in the history of the city—far greater than when the place was first pitched here. They amount to about \$3,000,000 direct this year, and nearly \$2,000,000 for public edifices. The Capitol edifice itself gets a snubbing, the architect being a shy man who had not learned the art of lobbying and could only state the necessity of repairs at least. But the great new renaissance building for the State, War and Navy Departments has received a lift which will cover it with stone-cutters as soon as spring opens: a new statue of General Thomas is ordered to cost \$40,000, and the Farragut statue is taken out of the hands of the artists of the



WOODROW WILSON

lobby. In two years from this period, there will be six colossal statues in the streets of this city, five of them equestrian, Washington, Jackson, Scott, Grant, Thomas and Farragut, besides out-of-door statues of Lincoln, Scott and Washington. * * * Several new street railways are authorized and the building permits applied for or granted show an extraordinary advance in construction, much of which is of a villa character in the suburbs. In May the whole line of the Baltimore and Potomac Road will be opened, as well as the new Branch of the Baltimore and Ohio. And the Municipal Government has spent \$8,300,000 in about eighteen months, according to its own report, and its opponents say \$14,000,000, assessed upon nearly the full valuation of property."

In view of the above use of the terms "lobby" and "lobbyist" and the fixed determination of President Wilson's administration to relegate both to the past, it is interesting to read the same writer's definition of them: "The word 'Lobby,' as anybody might guess, is derived from the part of the Capitol where people go who have objects to attain on the floors of Congress but not the right of access. In the Latin *lobby* signifies a covered portico—pit for walking, and in the Capitol at Washington the lobbies are long, lofty and lighted corridors completely enclosing both halls of legislation. One of the four sides of this lobby is guarded by a door-keeper, who can generally be seduced by good treatment or a *douceur* to admit people to his privacy, and in this darkened corridor the lobbyists call out their members and make their solicitations.

"The lobby at Washington is referred to by the architect Latrobe as early as 1806. He explains that 'the lobby of the House is so separated from it that those

who retire to it cannot see and probably will not distinctly hear what is going forward in it. This arrangement,' he says, 'has been made with the approbation of the President of the United States, and also under the advice of the Speakers of the two Houses at the time when the designs were made.' * * *

"A lobbyist is an operator upon his acquaintance, his wits and his audacity. Your lobbyist may be an old man, whose experience, aplomb, suavity or venerableness may recommend him. He may be a strong man in middle life, who commands what he is paid for doing by a knowledge of his own force and magnetism. He may be an adroit young man, free of hollow profession, who dexterously leads his victim along from terrace to terrace of sentimentality, until that dell is reached where the two men become confederates, and may whisper the truth to each other."

The type of character the writer had in mind has passed away. His departure may be said to have been synchronous with the disappearance of the old hotels of Washington. At the close of the war, dining played a great part in American politics. "The lobby man dines the Representative; the Representative dines the Senator; the Senator dines the charming widow, and the charming widow dines her coming man." The politician found Hancock's a place for his reed birds and mixed drinks; Harvey's for oysters; Chamberlin's for the best of everything in dining and good fellowship; and Wormley's for a quiet supper. Charles Dickens says Welcker kept the best restaurant in the world.

The Old Willard Hotel enjoyed during and after the war a large patronage. Here is a fragment from a diary picked up in its corridors many years ago:

WASHINGTON—OLD AND NEW

"April 22, 1868—Dear me, how tired! I am in Washington, the Capital of the United States. It's not larger than New York, my husband, Alonzo, says, which I think is a great shame. Government ought to make it bigger right away, or have it somewhere where it would get bigger, itself. The maps are all incorrect about Washington, where it is represented by a great many dots, while all the other towns have only one dot. We went to Willard's Hotel, and, in order to give us a fine view of the city, they put us up in the top story. We went down to breakfast at nine o'clock, and called for oysters, of course. They tasted as if they had been caught in warm water. The first shad was quite a bone to pick. My dear husband took a cocktail before breakfast. He says it's quite the thing here. Senator Tatterson joined him, he says. I hope my husband will never be a drunkard." "N. B.—He says the Senator took *his* straight."

At the breaking out of the Civil War the leading hotels on Pennsylvania Avenue were Brown's, Owen's, Victoria, Henry Clay, Willard's, Kirkwood and National. Of these all save Brown's (now the Metropolitan) and the National have disappeared. The Ebbitt House came into prominence during the war and acquired early a celebrity as the headquarters of the Army and Navy. Completely revived and rehabilitated, it retains today all of its old popularity and charm.

George Alfred Townsend says of the Ebbitt in 1872: "It is now a very elegant mansion, six stories high and of a bright, cheerful color, which lightens the spirits of the guests; from every window canopies of canvas depend to cool the interior through the summer; for this house, unlike several

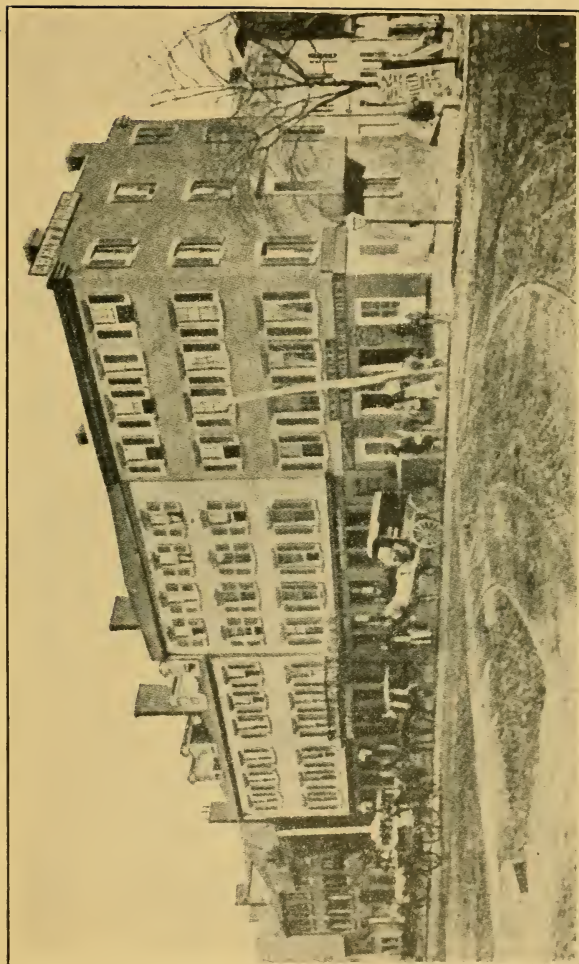
WASHINGTON—OLD AND NEW

in Washington, is kept open the whole year around. The taste of the proprietor, Caleb C. Willard, Esq., is displayed in the elegant French pavilions, and broken lines of the roof, and in the series of classical window mouldings, which liken the establishment to the finer class of the public edifices. The new dining room (vide the present one) is made to include two entire stories in height, and the lofty ceiling is beautifully frescoed, while the windows are given nearly the loftiness of the hall, thus bathing the apartment in the exquisite light of this latitude. Beneath the dining room is the historic line of offices known over the whole country as 'Newspaper Row.' The newspaper correspondents had pitched upon this block before a hotel was devised, on account of its immediate proximity to the telegraph offices, the Treasury, all the lines of city communication, and as it was centrally situated to the White House and the great departments. * * *

"In this house have put up nearly all the eminent sailors and soldiers of the country: Rogers, Farragut, Worden, Canby, Thomas, Porter, Winslow, Boggs, Case, Drayton and the rest."

Brief as is this description, it gives a fair idea of what the Ebbitt was; what it *is* is best attested by its established position in the forefront of American hotels of today.

No story of Washington is complete without mention of the National, the first hotel building of large dimensions erected in the city; and indissolubly connected with the nation's history. It has well withstood the test of time, and today enjoys a large and country-wide popularity. It was built about 1827. In suite known as 17 and 18 Henry Clay died; Alex-



THE OLD EBBITT
(As it appeared, 1865)

ander Stephens occupied these rooms when a member of Congress. In the Civil War the Supreme Court of the United States lived at the National; and from then until now it has been the home of men prominent in all walks of life.

Through the courtesy of Mr. G. F. Schutt, proprietor of the Ebbitt and National Hotels, the writer is enabled to publish the following:

"The Hon. E. G. Spaulding, member of Congress from New York, gave a private dinner party Thursday evening, February 28, 1861, at the National Hotel, to the President (Abraham Lincoln) and Vice-President-elect.

"The following invited guests were present: Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott, Commander of the Army; Edward Bates, of Missouri; Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana; Salmon P. Chase, Senator from Ohio; Judge Ira Harris, of New York; Wm. E. Dodge, a member of the Peace Congress of 1861; Thurlow Weed, New York journalist; General Alexander S. Webb; Judge David Davis, from Illinois; Wm. H. Seward, Senator from New York; Simon Cameron, Senator from Pennsylvania; Preston King, Senator from New York; John J. Crittenden, Senator from Kentucky; John P. Hale, Senator from New Hampshire; Zachariah Chandler, Senator from Michigan; E. B. Washburn, member Congress from Illinois; H. Winter Davis, M. C., from Maryland; W. Pennington, M. C., from New Jersey; John Sherman, M. C., from Ohio; Charles Francis Adams, M. C., from Massachusetts; J. A. Farley, M. C., from Ohio. Before leaving the hotel, the President accepted an invitation to visit the ladies' parlor, where he re-

ceived a hearty welcome from the lady guests of the hotel.

"Many of the names above became noted during the great crisis which Mr. Lincoln was about to enter. The following went into his Cabinet: Wm. H. Seward, Secretary of State; Simon Cameron, Secretary of War; Edward Bates, Attorney-General; Caleb B. Harris was elected United States Senator in 1861, and it was his daughter who, with Major Rathbone, of the army, accompanied Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln to Ford's Theatre on the night of April 14, 1865.

"Believing this to be an interesting item, I cheerfully present it to the Oldroyd Lincoln Memorial collection for preservation.

"(Signed) G. F. SCHUTT, *Manager*,
National Hotel.

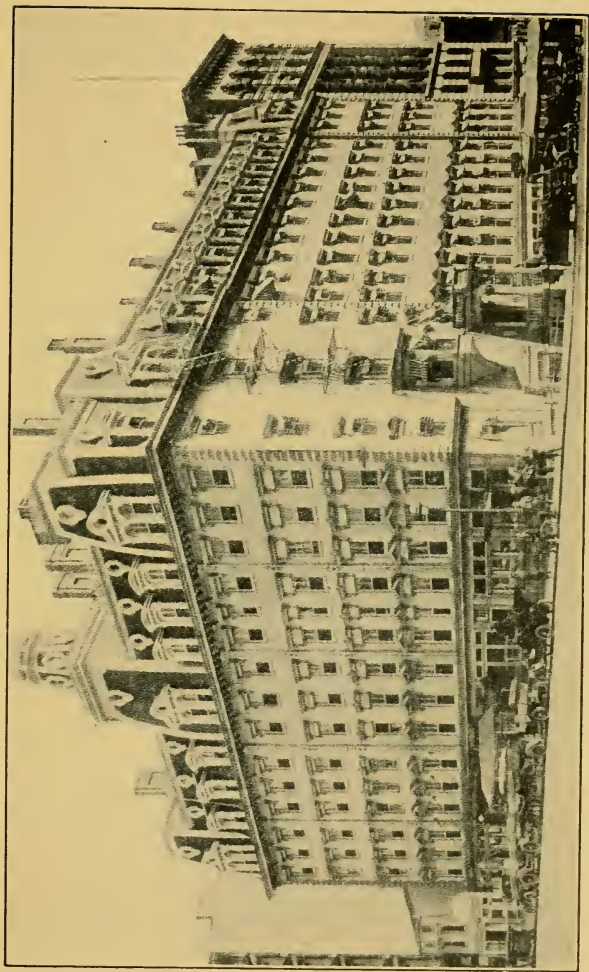
"NATIONAL HOTEL, Dec. 28, 1904."

"How a famous hotel advertised in 1828 is entertainingly set forth in the *Louisville Public Advertiser*:

NATIONAL HOTEL
WASHINGTON CITY.

"This spacious and extensive building, believed to be one of the largest hotels in the United States (capable of accommodating two hundred persons), is now nearly finished and ready for the reception of the public.

"As it has been expressly erected for a house of public entertainment, the plan of the building, together with its interior arrangements and conveniences, are believed to be such as to give universal satisfaction and render its accommodations superior



THE NEW EBBITT

WASHINGTON—OLD AND NEW

to what is generally met with. There are 80 single and 50 double-bedded chambers, 12 parlors and drawing rooms, with a suitable number of very excellent and comfortable family lodging rooms adjoining, all of which are newly furnished in very handsome style, with separate entrance to that part of the house, which makes it as desirable for families as a private dwelling.

"As the house is so extensive, and the expenses necessarily incurred in carrying on so large an establishment must go on, the proprietor is determined, in order to encourage business, to reduce his charges to one dollar per day at the public table, to all persons who stop for a longer period than a week, and occupy a room with more than one bed, and for a shorter period at the rate of one dollar and twenty-five cents per day. The charge for families will have a proportionate reduction. The stabling is extensive and the charges for livery moderate. The liquors are of the best quality that can be procured, and the wines, some of which are very superior, he is enabled to sell at various prices from \$1.00 to \$3.50 per bottle. The proprietor will, as usual, do all in his power to render every accommodation to the patrons of the house and endeavor to make their stay with him as comfortable as possible.

"JOHN GADSBY.

"Washington, 19th Sept., 1828.

"N. B.—A stage and steamboat office is attached to the establishment, where passage can be taken to any part of the United States.

"The following persons will please publish this advertisement twice a week for three weeks and ren-

der their accounts to the subscriber for settlement:

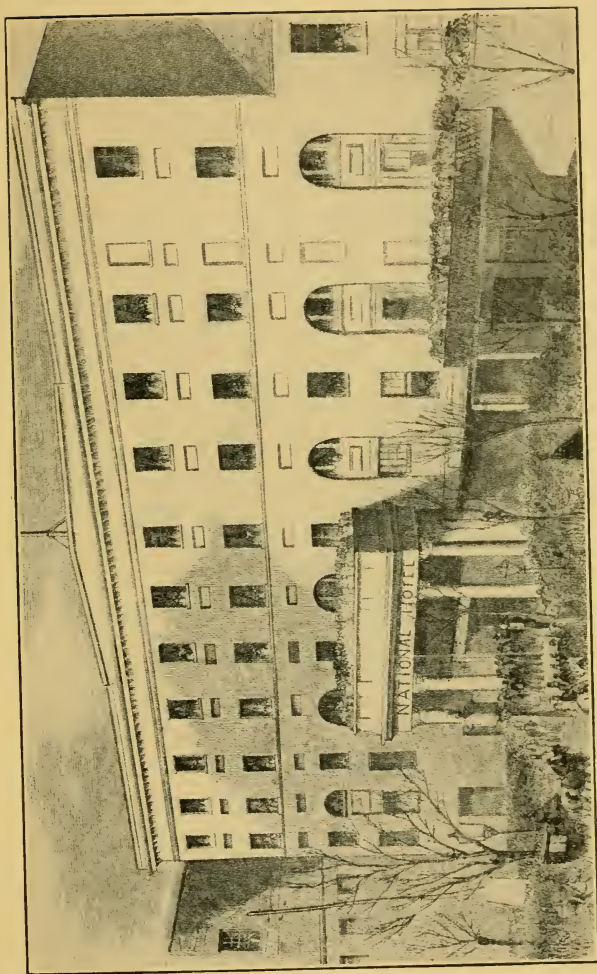
"The Boston Courier and Statesman, The New York American and Enquirer, the Philadelphia National Gazette, American Sentinel, the Baltimore Gazette-Chronicle, the Richmond Enquirer, Norfolk Herald, Charlotte Mercury, New Orleans Courier, Nashville Republican, Cincinnati National Republican, Pittsburg Mercury."

An old Washingtonian, Major Walter Hellen, writes:

"What a great hotel the National used to be in by-gone days. It was here that Henry Clay resided when in Washington, and it was through its lobby I saw his body borne by his loving friends, who came from his native State to attend the obsequies and act as a guard of honor in bearing his remains from this city to their last resting place in Kentucky.

"It was at this hotel James Buchanan stopped when he arrived in the city just previous to his inauguration and before taking up his home in the White House. I was at the Baltimore and Ohio Station when he arrived in town. He was met at the train by a committee of about fifty men, who, after an exchange of greetings, marched in procession, with Buchanan at the head, down C to Four-and-a-half Street to the Avenue, thence to the hotel. A very short time after his inauguration a terrible epidemic of sickness broke out at the National, from which many died, causing a great sensation throughout the country, as it was thought by many that some enemies of Buchanan had tried to poison him."

It appears to be true that Mr. Buchanan had a narrow escape during his visit to Washington, the



THE OLD NATIONAL
(Photograph taken at the time of Buchanan's Inauguration, 1857)

WASHINGTON—OLD AND NEW

water of the National Hotel having been poisoned in an attempt to destroy the rats with arsenic. The vermin partook of it and then plunged into and died in a tank at the top of the house.

Up to twenty years ago the National Hotel was the center of the city, whose trend to the westward has since been uninterrupted, without diminishing; however, the patronage or popularity of the hotel.

It will be quite obvious to the reader that it is impossible in a work of this scope to discuss all the features of Washington's marvelous growth from 1872 to this day. More than the usual space for description has been given the old National, because this, of the city's landmarks, seems to stand out the most conspicuously.

Washington has changed more in the last fifty years than any American city; it has more than quadrupled its population with the best of the elements in all the States and Territories.

"The development of the executive departments of the National Government, with the growth of the nation's business, and the great increase in the scientific work carried on by the nation, have drawn to Washington many able men." * * *

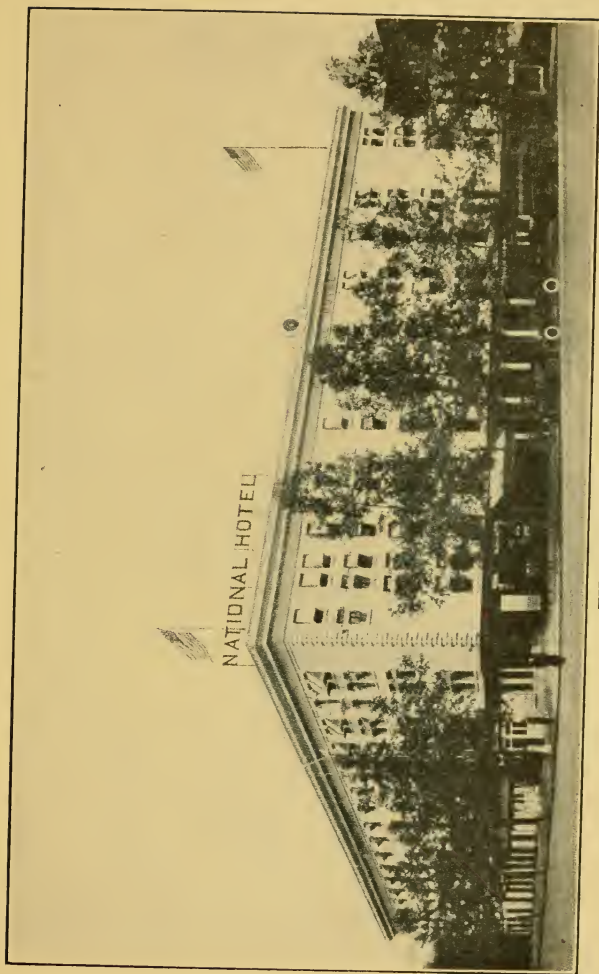
The presence of the President, the Cabinet, the Supreme Court, Congress, the Diplomatic Corps, the highest officers of the Army and Navy, the many eminent scientists and scholars, gives it a cosmopolitan character that is most attractive, and draws visitors in increasing numbers from all over the United States and Canada and many other countries. The healthful climate, which is also agreeable during the greater part of the year, the beauty, comfort, and convenience of the city, the exceptional interest of

WASHINGTON—OLD AND NEW

its life, etc., are among the things which make Washington almost ideal as a residence city. The good government of the District of Columbia with its admirable public school system, police and fire departments, and other municipal features, all free from the scandalous practices of blackmail and bribery, political favoritism and corruption, which stain so many American municipalities, may be mentioned as one of the reasons why most people like to live in Washington."

"Before, she like some shepherdess did show,
Who sat to bathe her by a river's side;
Not answering to her fame, but rude and low,
Nor taught the beauteous arts of modern pride.
Now, like a maiden queen, she will behold,
From her high turrets, hourly suitors come;
The East with incense, and the West with gold."





THE NEW NATIONAL

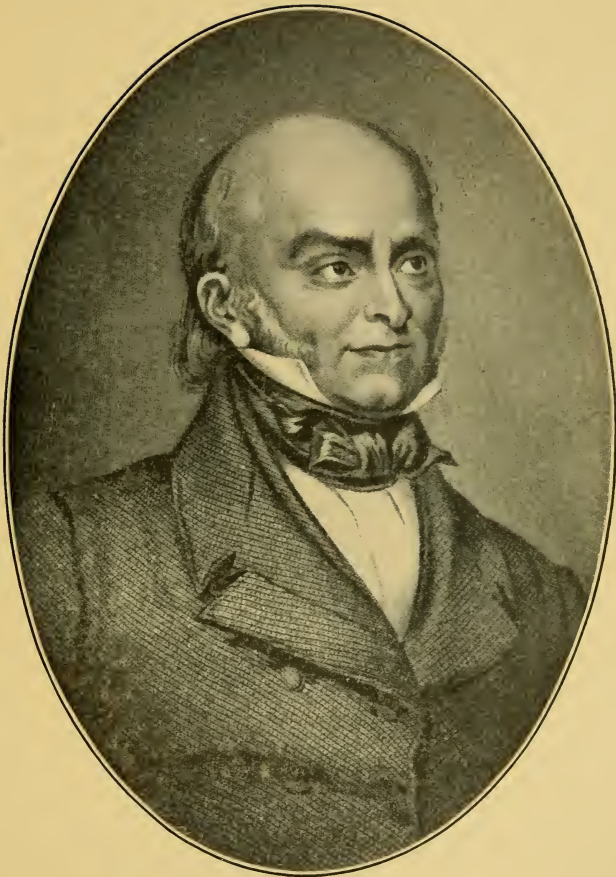
CHAPTER IV

The Development and Improvement of Washington—Its Present Educational Advantages and Its Great Possibilities

THE Centennial celebration, in December, 1900, of the removal of the National Capital from Philadelphia to Washington forms an appropriate landmark from which to estimate alike the present condition and prospective development of the Federal City. Previous to the last decade of the 19th century, any such attempt, at least in the way of forecast, would have been misleading if not absolutely fallacious. Up to the close of the Civil War, the location of the National Capital was, as has been set forth in previous chapters, always in doubt; but even with its permanent existence secured by the consecration of war, and the construction of the great railway systems, the political and material status of the city was altogether uncertain.

Twice within the period of ten years Congress had changed the form of government in the District. Under the liberalizing influence of the Civil War, the citizens of Washington had been granted the privileges of territorial government. Under the capable leadership of Alexander R. Shepherd they had paved their streets, drained the swamps with which the scattered portions of the city were interspersed, and established a fair system of sewage and water supply. Reaction, however, had set in against

this progressive policy. Shepherd was disavowed, the people were deprived of representation and a form of government by commission was established. But neither the disfavor of Congress nor the discouraging attitude of the residents of the District could restore the crudity or sluggish condition of ante-bellum times. Washington, moreover, had by this time been completely adopted by the nation, and was, moreover, caught up in a great wave of national prosperity which placed it upon a ground of vantage from which it could never be moved. The stimulating character of the war tariff and the vast consumption of wealth of which our citizens were the producers, had developed new industries in the country and vastly extended the old. These great instrumentalities of production—northern capital and northern experience—had extended to the great coal and iron fields, the forest preserves and agricultural resources of the South. The result was not only a tremendous increase of wealth, but, as a consequence of the rapidity of the transformation, this wealth as well as the industrial and commercial interests of the country which had produced it, were concentrated in the hands of a few individuals and corporations. The great mass of the population had little or no share in the swollen fortunes which seemed to spring up automatically; and, feeling themselves defrauded of their just part in the general prosperity, they sought under party leadership to attack the strongholds of capital and privilege, which, by reason of the centralization incidental to the war, were ranged under the protection of the United States Government. The great corporate interests of the country instinctively realized that



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

WASHINGTON—OLD AND NEW

in order to protect present gains or exploit future possibilities they must secure representation in the Congress of the United States. So alert were they in adjusting themselves to existing conditions, that for the next twenty years the Senate was not inaptly named "a rich man's club." The chief beneficiary from this transformation was the city of Washington.

As the permanent home of a great number of wealthy Senators and Representatives, palatial residences and hotels were erected and surrounded by handsome grounds. Lavish appropriations for the extending and paving of streets and the acquisition and planting of new parks were made from year to year. Undertakings for securing adequate water supply, drainage, sanitation, ornamentation and other appliances of comfort and luxury far beyond those for which Shepherd had been exiled were sanctioned by an over-generous Congress. It was at this moment that the more enlightened citizens of the country, aided by their representatives in both Houses of Congress, resurrected the long forgotten plans of L'Enfant and the ambitious dreams of Washington. The public had at last been educated up to an appreciation of their grandeur, and their approximate realization was a question only of time. The mistakes and ignorance of previous years had left widespread then unsightly traces and rendered many parts of the original plans impossible. Nothing could restore the noble vistas which had been obscured, or transform the massing of public buildings and monuments regardless of proportion and symmetry. Opportunity enough, however, remained to create a town of surpassing beauty; and the artistic aspirations of a century crystallized in the

WASHINGTON—OLD AND NEW

centennial celebration, which witnessed the appointment of a committee of the most celebrated architects and landscape gardeners of the country for the improvement and ornamentation of the National Capital. Under their direction a great driveway has been constructed to connect Rock Creek Park with the new Potomac Park reclaimed from the Potomac flats; a similar plan has been devised for beautifying the Anacostia flats. A large tract of land stretching from the new railway station to the Capitol has been acquired; and an avenue of magnificent proportions extending from the west front of the Capitol to the Memorial Bridge and embracing on its way the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial has been undertaken.

Nor has expansion been permitted to rest with the extension of streets, the development of parks or the improvement of the river front. With the rapid increase of population and the stimulation of enterprise and civic spirit, the constitutionality of the retrocession of the early Virginia grant of 1846 has been called in question; and the completion of the great Memorial Bridge will doubtless mark the rise of a sister city, on the south side of the Potomac, not yielding in beauty to the old.

But it is not from the material and æsthetic or even the political side that we can best estimate the development of Washington. Upon purely intellectual and scientific lines the activities at the National Capital have been even more marked and significant. Here again the original initiative and inspiration were imparted by George Washington, who, in his last will and testament, solemnly recommended to Congress the foundation of a National University, to be not only a

center of scientific and historical research, but a training school for young men in the science of government and the sentiment of patriotism. The sagacity of his admonition has been abundantly justified by all who persistently sought to realize it.

The first in the field were the members of the Order of Jesuits, who, at the suggestion of Archbishop Carroll, of Baltimore, the intimate and lifelong friend of Washington, attempted to fulfill, according to their point of view, the dying bequest of that great statesman by founding what has since become the Georgetown University, a prosperous school, with faculties of law and medicine and an alumni distinguished in every walk of life, among whom is the present Chief Justice of the United States.

Only a few years later, inspired by a similar motive, a number of pious Baptist clergymen established the Columbian, now The George Washington University. Congress at this time manifested its approval of the undertaking by a valuable grant of lands. Statesmen and philanthropists, at home and abroad, generously responded with contributions, John Quincy Adams himself giving \$7,000, besides the loan of a much larger sum. The subsequent history of the institution has been worthy of the distinguished auspices under which it was founded. It embraces schools of law, medicine, engineering, pedagogy and graduate studies, with a faculty of more than a hundred instructors and 1,300 students. Under conditions of great sacrifice it duplicates its morning lectures and recitations, in the evening for the benefit of large numbers of young men who come to Washington from every state in the Union to secure the benefits of university training, while employed in the great administrative and scien-

WASHINGTON—OLD AND NEW

tific bureaus of the United States Government. This institution thus carries out, even in a more liberal sense, the intentions of George Washington, who hoped that young men thus gathered at the seat of the nation during the most formative period of their lives might share in the associations which would bind the separate states in a compact union and develop sentiments of patriotism and respect for republican institutions.

Advancing upon similar lines of thought, the trustees of the University have established a School of Political Sciences upon the model of the French "Ecole de Sciences Politique" where young men may be trained for the diplomatic and consular service as well as for political life. This school, the first of its kind to be established in the country, has already been liberally subsidized and has earned for itself a most creditable record at home and abroad. Its faculty has, from time to time, numbered the most eminent men in the country, in their respective specialties. Justice Brewer, of the United States Supreme Court, was Professor of International Law until his death; Assistant Secretary David Jayne Hill, of the Department of State, taught Diplomatic History until he was appointed to our diplomatic service. Mr. James Brown Scott taught Constitutional Law in this school until he became Secretary of the Carnegie Peace Foundation; while graduates from the school occupy positions in the American Embassies, Legations, or Consular Service in Europe, South America and Asia.

Within the last decade two new university foundations, planned upon an even more ambitious scale, have been added to those already in existence, namely—the Catholic University of America and the Methodist or

American University. The former, organized by the late Pope Leo, with schools of philosophy, theology, natural and social sciences, law, jurisprudence and technology, occupies a spacious park, studded with half a score of magnificent buildings adjoining the Soldiers' Home. Around it have sprung up, as if by magic, the foundations of the affiliated colleges of the Benedictines, the Dominicans, the Augustinians, the Paulists, the Holy Cross and Apostolic Missions. Not far distant under the same auspices and drawing its teaching force from the University's staff, is Trinity College, established and endowed for the higher education of Catholic women. Together they form the culmination of the Catholic educational system in the United States, embracing nearly five thousand parochial schools, eight hundred colleges and seminaries, and three universities.

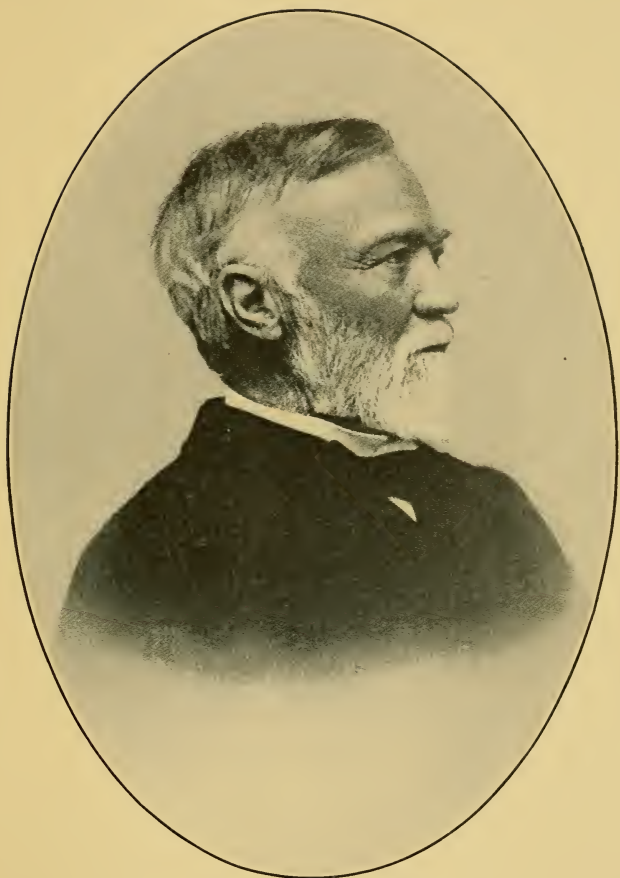
The Methodist denominations in the United States have arranged for a similar institution which shall bear the same relation to the Protestant sectaries that the Catholic University bears to the Roman hierarchy in the United States. Two large structures, the college of government and the college of history, have already been erected and work has been arranged to begin with the completion of a prescribed endowment of \$10,000,000.

Meanwhile, private munificence has not failed to recognize the National Capital as a suitable place for the conduct of scientific research. In 1829, James Smithson, a natural son of the Earl of Northumberland, bequeathed his entire fortune to the United States to found at Washington an institution "for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men." Long before the bequest, which amounted to about \$500,000,

became available, great opposition to its acceptance developed. Members of Congress, especially Calhoun, contended that it was beneath the dignity of the United States to accept presents from individuals; others intimated that the testator sought immortality at far too moderate a price. It was finally accepted through the influence of John Quincy Adams, and the income upon the original amount, together with a generous appropriation from Congress, forms the basis upon which researches for the past half century have been conducted and their results disseminated throughout the world.

President Harper is reported to have said to Mr. Rockefeller, when they were casting about for a site of what afterwards became the University of Chicago: "Give me a million dollars and I will make a better university at Washington than can be made elsewhere for ten millions"; meaning that the government machinery, with its necessary and incidental accessories established at Washington, formed a university equipment greater than could be duplicated by the entire university endowment of any of the greatest universities in the country; and that it would only be necessary to appoint an adequate teaching force to call it into activity. Mr. Rockefeller, however, could not see beyond the great commercial possibilities of Chicago.

It was, therefore, left for Mr. Andrew Carnegie to exploit President Harper's idea and furnish a cap-stone to Washington's existing educational system by the establishment of an institution, unique not only in the munificence of its endowment, but also along the peculiar line of its administration. It is not a university, a school or a college. It conducts its work without lecture rooms, professors or libraries. It seeks rather to



ANDREW CARNEGIE

increase the efficiency of the existing institutions throughout the country by utilizing and adding to their facilities; and to enable such students as find Washington the best place to conduct their studies to enjoy the advantages of the museums, libraries, laboratories, observatory, meteorological, piscicultural and forestry schools and kindred institutions of the several departments of the Government.

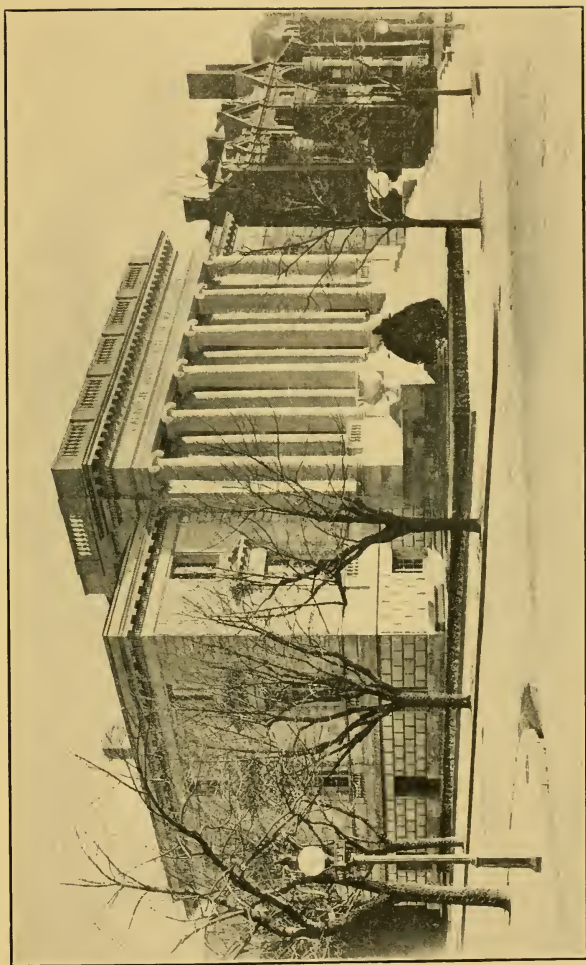
Yet the Carnegie Institute represents only a single step towards the exploitation of the immense educational facilities of Washington. How rich and varied they are may be seen from the consideration of a single department. For instance: Congress appropriated nearly \$8,000,000 to the Department of Agriculture alone for the conduct of experimental research and the publication of its results. The Department publishes during the year more than 800 different reports of investigations made in the Weather Bureau, the Bureaus of Entomology, Chemistry, Forestry, Animal Industry and Plant Life; many million copies of which are printed and circulated throughout the country. More than a thousand scientific experts are employed in the departments. All of them are men of exceptional attainments and training; many of them are the highest authorities in their special subjects in this country or in the world. This, however, comprises the activities of only one of the ten great departments.

Each of the other nine, the Post Office, Treasury, Interior, State, Justice, Commerce, Labor, War and Navy, with their records and equipment may be considered as great experimental stations where investigations peculiar to their individual spheres are being conducted with a degree of accuracy and detail, and upon a scale of magnitude unknown, because impossible,

elsewhere. These, together with the Supreme Court, the Senate and House of Representatives, the great Embassies and Legations, as object lessons, form only a part of the educational assets of Washington, compared with which the equipment of even the greatest university seems sordid and inadequate.

To coordinate and centralize their vast possibilities upon educational lines, presents an opportunity for constructive genius unrivalled in any age or country. The contemplation of it through the deepening perspective of centuries inspires us with ever-increasing admiration for the wisdom and foresight of the Father of His Country, who, with his dying breath, recommended the foundation of a National University at the National Capital.





CARNEGIE INSTITUTE

CHAPTER V

Social Aspects and Customs, Past and Present, of the National Capital.

Society, like every other phase of Washington life, is essentially official. No matter how trifling the association or how far removed from civil activities, it sooner or later assumes an official complexion, and reflects the prevailing atmosphere of the place. Just as the National City combines many of the features of an overgrown village with those of a great metropolis, so do its social functions present at once a provincial and a cosmopolitan side, and while, in one sense, they are simple and democratic, in another they are exclusive and august.

Existing, as they do, primarily, for the convenience of a democratic administration, with a view to promoting cordial relations throughout its varied personnel, and thus increasing the general efficiency of the whole governmental machine, they have gradually masked themselves into a pyramid, with the President and the representatives of the sovereign states at the apex and the great unwashed multitude at its base, and in ceremonial manifestations range all the way from exclusive state dinners and presidential receptions down to the weekly drawing rooms of cabinet and congressional houses, at which all Washington, or all the country, if that were possible, may assist upon terms of perfect equality.

As may be imagined, a society thus unique has evolved in the course of a century a set of conventions, and an order of procedure, which, while subject to in-

WASHINGTON—OLD AND NEW

cidental change in detail, according to the caprice of changing administrations, has become established on fairly permanent lines.

The festivities of the incoming administration begin with the inaugural ball (this festivity was abandoned on President Wilson's advent) tendered by the citizens of Washington to the new President, at which all may be present who are willing to pay the price. After this, aside from the state dinners, the President annually gives official receptions respectively to the diplomatic corps, the judiciary, the two Houses of Congress and the Army and Navy. At these receptions the wives of the Cabinet ministers stand in the receiving line with the President and his wife, while the guests of honor, the ladies of the diplomatic corps, Congress and the judiciary stand in the Blue Room just in the rear of the receiving line. Later in the evening they mingle with the general multitude. For many years refreshments were served. President and Mrs. Taft, however, have set the precedent of serving a bountiful supper, which will probably be continued. All the residents of Washington, and visiting friends who have any claim to social distinction are divided into four parts and invited to one or another of four receptions. The first, being given to the representatives of the sovereign states, is naturally thought to be the most exclusive and distinguished. During the winter some state concerts are also given at the White House, at which the lines between the social sheep and goats are more closely drawn. During the month of May a series of garden parties is given, to which, as the gardens are larger than the White House drawing room, a greater number of guests are usually invited than at other receptions. Refreshments are also served on these occasions.

WASHINGTON—OLD AND NEW

Ordinarily the President makes no visits and dines only once a year with the several members of his Cabinet. This precedent, however, was overruled by President Taft, who was noted for his fondness for dining with the citizens of the capital. The social gulf between the President and Vice-President is indicated by the frequency with which the latter accepts such invitations. He is the helpless and often willing victim of all the lion hunters in the capital. To entertain a Vice-President usually marks the climax in the career of the ordinary social climber. Vice-President Marshall, especially, has made a record along these lines which will probably never be challenged.

The wife of the Vice-President receives on Wednesday, usually from four to six, and as if to mark the social equality of the officials, the wife of the Speaker of Congress receives on the same day, as do the wives of the respective members of the Cabinet.

The wives of the Chief Justices and the Associate Justices are "at home" on Monday. Senators' wives keep Thursdays and those of Representatives, Tuesdays. Fridays have, to some extent, been taken for receptions at embassies and legations. Saturdays remain for special teas. Sundays are the days for purely social visits, and practically every lady in Washington manages to be home on that day, at least from five to seven o'clock. Simple refreshments of tea and punch, with sandwiches and cakes are served at all except Cabinet houses, where the custom was discontinued in the early nineties by official request, because of the lavish expenditures of some of the more wealthy members of the Cabinet, which put at a disadvantage their less fortunate colleagues. On New Year's Day.

however, the ban is removed, when the Cabinet, the Vice-President and the Speaker of the House hold high carnival. All Washington on that day indulges in a wild "saturnalia." On such occasion extremes meet, and Jones from the south, Smith from Alexandria, or Brown from Kalamazoo, if, perchance, he happens to be present, elbows great ambassadors, Justices of the Supreme Court, Cabinet ministers, Senators, Generals and Admirals. Champagne flows freely and terrapin and *paté de foi gras* are served indiscriminately to the multitude.

While the general public is made welcome at the houses of officials, an air of greater exclusiveness obtains in the Diplomatic drawing room. The embassies, however, especially those of England, France, Germany and Russia have stated days upon which they receive all comers. In fact, at the present time many of the wives of the resident diplomats in Washington are of American birth and of the highest type of American womanhood. While identified with the sentiments and interests of their adopted country, they have always a sympathetic greeting for any chance visitors who may stray into their drawing rooms, no matter from what part of the country or from what part of the world they may come. Lady Herbert, the wife of the late Sir Michael Herbert, who was probably the most gracious and capable woman who ever presided over the British Embassy, was the daughter of Mr. Richard Wilson, of New York City. Mrs. Bryce, wife of former Ambassador Bryce, though born in England, is the daughter of a Boston merchant, Madame Jusserand, the talented and beautiful wife of the French Ambassador, who, by her grace and tactful manner

has assisted her husband in obtaining a hold on the affections of the American people such as no previous French Ambassador has ever before enjoyed, belongs also to an American family, although for many years a resident of Paris. The Countess Bernstorff and Madame Bahkmetieff, respectively the wives of the German and Russian Ambassadors, are both American women, of truly imperial presence, but distinguished for the sweetness of their manners and the kindness of their hearts. Madam Bahkmetieff is the daughter of the late Gen. Edward F. Beale, and inherits the sterling qualities which so greatly endeared that gallant pioneer and soldier to all classes of his countrymen.

Aside from the representatives of the greater powers, Madame Riano, the wife of the Spanish Minister, was Miss Alice Ward, of Washington. Countess Moltke, the wife of the Danish Minister, is the daughter of the late Nathaniel Thayer, of Boston. The wife of the present Minister from Belgium is an American as well as were their two immediate predecessors, the Countess Buisseret and the Baroness Moncheur, who were respectively the daughters of General Story, of Washington, and the Hon. Powell Clayton, lately Ambassador to Mexico. Madame Loudon, the wife of the present Minister from the Netherlands, was Miss Eustis of New Orleans. Her predecessor, Madame Van Swinderen, is the daughter of Mr. Charles C. Glover, of Washington, while the wife of the Greek Minister is the daughter of former Senator Cockerell, of Missouri.

It is probably not too much to say that the balance for peace between America and Europe, and consequently throughout the world, rests in the persons of

these august ladies, through the powerful connection which they gained in the lands of their adoption. Influences of this sort will extend to situations which the utterances of the "Carnegie Institution for Peace" cannot reach nor the decisions of the Hague Tribunal heal.

But while the social order of the federal city is, strictly speaking, the outgrowth of official necessity and natural selection, and must always remain the slave of precedent and artificial convention, there has grown up in the midst of it a semi-official, and in some instances, independent society at once unique, brilliant and delightful. It may be said that the possibility of this condition of things existed in the neighborhood long before the removal of the national capital or the designation of the federal district. Travelers in colonial times have frequently commented upon the atmosphere of culture and refinement that pervaded the homes of the old Maryland aristocracy and the courtesy and decorum which distinguished their social intercourse. Into this quiet and dignified community the Republican court with its informalities, its commercial antecedents, its motley following and somewhat sordid belonging was thrust almost with meteoric suddenness at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The fusion of such discordant elements was not facilitated by the eight years of "pell-mell" and generally happy-go-lucky social regime of the Jefferson administration; nor yet by the excitement which preceded the declaration of war in Madison's administration and the subsequent sacking and burning of the Capitol and the Executive Mansion. Yet latent elements of mutual assimilation existed, and were bound, sooner or later, to assert themselves. The Yan-



THE CORCORAN HOUSE

kee pioneer and backwoodsman of that day, whatever might be his other limitations, had always in him the possibilities of social fitness. He was usually appreciative of advantages superior to those which he had previously enjoyed, and possessed remarkable adaptability in squaring his manners with a new environment. Consequently the crude and provincial relay of legislators and federal officials who presented themselves at periodic intervals from some twenty outlying districts and who were lodged in dormitories like monks and fed at club houses and mess rooms like soldiers, could not long remain insensible to the charms and blandishments of local society, nor fail to profit by contact with it. Nor did the manorial families fail to discern the social possibilities of functions over which senators, ambassadors, cabinet ministers or even executive rulers were likely to preside. Instinctively the old noblesse recognized the embryonic period. Naturally local society had most to gain. And had the official order been less kaleidoscopic, the former would necessarily have lost its individuality and sunk into to helpless dependence upon the latter. But, fortunately for it, representatives of the local order remained permanently on the ground and were in constant possession of the accumulating social convention fast hardening into precedent, while in three years, or at least in four or six, came the ebb and flow of party life followed by a complete political upheaval which brought in a swarm of uncouth officials, rude in speech and totally unversed in the amenities of the social code, who were only too happy to accept the existing conditions and take advantage of the training offered by the local drawing rooms to prepare themselves for the social demands of their new and exalted station. The danger of

stagnation inevitably incident to this condition was averted by the presence of the diplomatic corps, whose ceaselessly vanishing and succeeding personnel insured a reflection from the great world without and afforded Washington the benefits of experiments in other capitals upon similar lines. This situation, more than most others, induced a free eclecticism in social usages as against the hardening influences of caste rules.

A contingency equally critical, the bane of every democratic society from Athens to Venice and Florence, was the growth of the plutocratic element, and the consequent overshadowing influence of great wealth. From this the national capital has been protected by its humble origin, its isolated position, and the absence of any great inducement to commercial or industrial activities.

Not only has Washington thus been protected against the vicissitudes to which social aggregates in other cities have succumbed, but its vitality has from time to time been reinforced by the best blood and talent of the nation. This would naturally have followed upon the political side, but it is even more true beyond the official pale. Retiring Army and Navy officers, diplomats, jurists and statesmen have come back to pass their declining years amid the activities with which their former lives have been associated, and where their early laurels were won. Scientific and literary men, artists and authors have likewise found that Washington affords them the best opportunities for their research, and the most fruitful suggestions for their art. It thus happens that men of the type of Admirals Upshur, O'Neil, Brownson and Baird, Generals John M. Wilson and Leonard Wood, the courtly and chivalrous Charles L. Fitzhugh, the two Adamsses,



THE CARROLL HOUSE

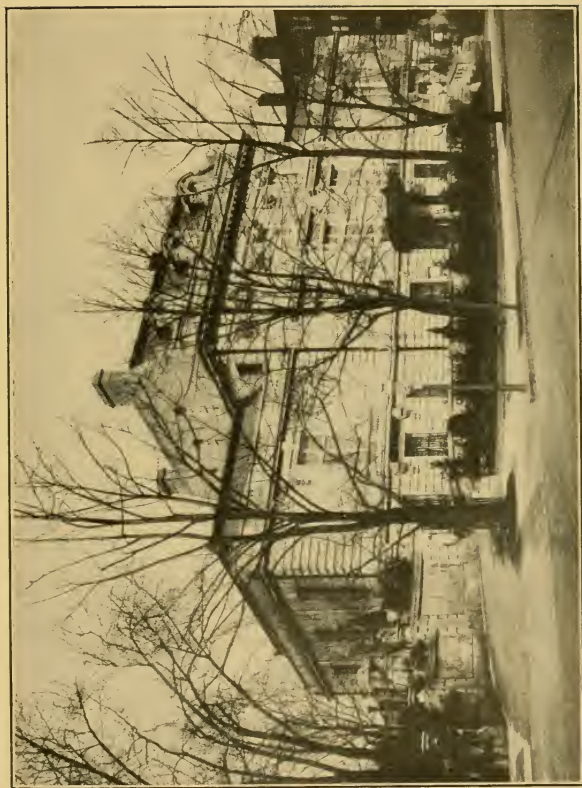
(The center of fashionable life thirty years ago. The home of
Mrs. W. T. Carroll)

Henry and Charles Francis, Robert Todd Lincoln, Hilary A. Herbert, Wayne MacVeagh, Henry White, John Hays Hammond, Gardiner Williams, Larz Anderson, and Col. Robert M. Thompson are constantly gravitating back to Washington to rest after the activities of their varied careers.

It has been said that in no place in the world does money count for so much or so little as in Washington. While it is true that a great statesman may find himself at a social disadvantage without adequate income, and great wealth, if united with official position, is able to attract attention and political following by lavish display and entertainment, yet, at the same time, money, unaccompanied by other advantages, is nowhere so helpless as in Washington, while talent, culture and engaging personality are always at a high premium.

But while money counts for little in Washington, family for more, and culture and good manners for much, official connection counts for about everything. Official influence is absolutely necessary to social leadership or even great social success. The social prominence of a few unofficial houses might seem to contradict this statement. It must be remembered, however, in this connection, that Mrs. Hobson is the sister-in-law of a former vice-president; Mrs. Wadsworth is the daughter of a former ambassador to Italy; Mrs. Leiter was the mother of the late Vice Reine of India; Mrs. Pinchot was the mother of Gifford Pinchot, the "Fidus Achates" of the Roosevelt administration, and in many respects during that period the most influential man in Washington after the President himself, while Mrs. Harriet Lane Johnston was the niece of President Buchanan and was for the four years of his administration the mistress of the White House. De-

spite such exceptions, more seeming than real, Washington society from the times of Dolly Madison to the times of Mrs. Bayard in our own day, has always been slow in its recognition of social leaders who have not behind them the prestige of political position. Mrs. Bayard will serve as a good illustration in point. This lady numbers among her ancestors or their married connection a large part of the aristocracy of the colonial and revolutionary time. As wife of a former Secretary of State, she has presided over the most exclusive diplomatic functions at home, and as first American Ambassadors to the Court of St. James has been received on terms of equality with foreign sovereigns abroad. These claims to by-gone greatness without the meretricious incidents of great wealth would in any other town less steeped in the atmosphere of political precedence, soon be forgotten. Not so, however, in Washington. It matters not that Mrs. Bayard's patrician ancestors and her distinguished husband have left her little beyond a modest competence, and that all around the unpretentious mansion where she was born and has always lived have sprung up the palaces and almost regal abodes of western millionaires and metropolitan money kings, each vying with the other in the smartness of equipage and entertainment, all Washington recognizes her social supremacy and flocks to pay court at her drawing rooms, which are not only the most distinguished, but the most representative of the national capital. About them lingers moreover, a flavour of the Washington of the older days. Mrs. Bayard has the reputation of never forgetting a friend. Consequently, one meets there not only the present-day officials and party leaders, but the remaining members of the old cave-dwelling aristocracy, the Mays, the Riggsses, the Carrolls, the Beales,



A good type of modern residence. Home of Mrs. Scott Townsend

the Hagners, the Webbs, the Rays, the Eustices, the Emorys, the Goldsboroughs, the Addisons, the Blairs, the Davidges, and the Charles Campbells—the untitled gentry, so to speak, whose ancestors in other years laid the foundation of the social distinction which Washington today enjoys.

Passing out through the portals of the conservative old mansion the visitor seems to step back into another generation. Within almost a stone's throw are the descendants of the men who have made the history of the country for almost a century past. Adjoining is the residence of the late John Hay, President Lincoln's private secretary, later Secretary of State and Ambassador to Great Britain and negotiator of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty.

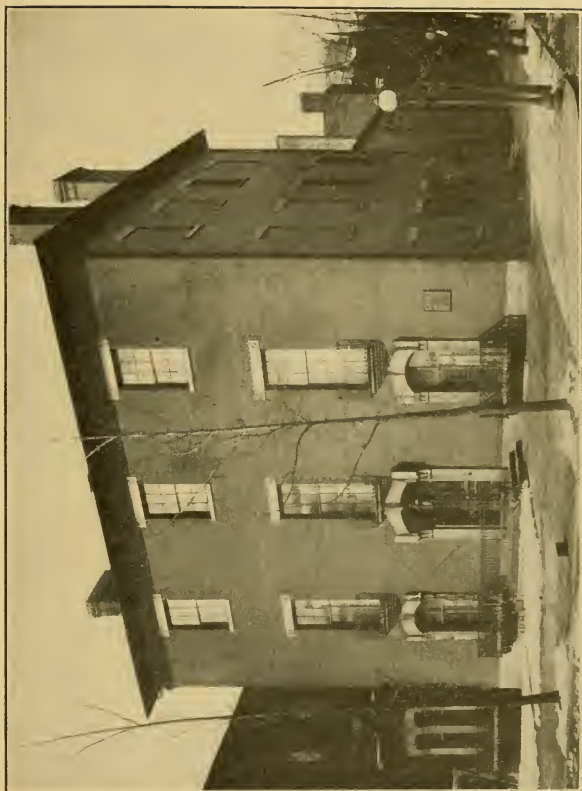
Indeed, one seems to return to an olden time and realizes more forcibly than ever before that aside ever from its official character Washington, has an atmosphere of its own. Adjoining the residence of John Hay is the home of Mr. Henry Adams, historian, the grandson of John Quincy Adams, and the son of the American Minister to Great Britain during the Civil War. A little further beyond resided for years the daughters of Commodore Wilkes of Mason and Slidell fame. Nearby are the homes where lived Bancroft, the historian, and Bancroft Davis. A block beyond, in a locality now given over to business purposes, lived until a year or so ago, Mrs. Van Rennsalaer Berry, the daughter of the "last of the Patroons" and one of the belles of the Second Empire, who entertained the Third Napoleon. In the Old Decatur House lives Truxtun Beale, at one time Minister to Persia and the son of General Edward F. Beale, who was Ambassador to Austria under General Grant. Others who have, or

WASHINGTON—OLD AND NEW

had, homes in this vicinity are Justice Holmes, the son of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Mrs. Burton Harrison, the widow of the private secretary of Jefferson Davis during the Civil War, and Miss Calhoun, the granddaughter of the great South Carolina Senator.

The list might be indefinitely continued, but it is sufficient to inspire the most casual imagination with the conviction that there is an undercurrent in Washington society which strikes deeper than the routine of office or the strife of parties.





THE DECATUR HOUSE

CHAPTER VI

The "Half and Half Arrangement" and the Relation of the Nation to the Capital City.

By HENRY B. F. MACFARLAND.

PRESIDENT, 1900 TO 1910, OF THE COMMISSIONERS, THE EXECUTIVE GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—CHAIRMAN NATIONAL CAPITAL CENTENNIAL COMMITTEE OF 1900.

Never was the country more interested in its capital city than now. Never were books and articles about Washington more eagerly read. Never were so many visitors seen in the capital. This is partly due to the general interest in the beautifying and improving of cities throughout the United States promoted by the American Civic Association and other organizations for the purpose of bettering municipal conditions. The "city beautiful" and the "city better" have taken the place in the best thoughts of city dwellers of the "city bigger." All through the land civic clubs are studying municipal problems and doing what they can to bring about tennial of the District of Columbia in December, 1900, when the eyes of the entire country were focused upon Washington in a unique way. Usual—their right solution. But over and above this general interest there is a very definite and special interest on the part of all intelligent Americans in the development of the national capital. This has been evident ever since the celebration of the cen-

WASHINGTON—OLD AND NEW

ly the average American away from Washington reads and therefore thinks only of the national government, the President, Congress, the Supreme Court, the Interstate Commerce Commission and not of the city in which the national government has its home and therefore not of its municipal housekeeping or the financial arrangement under which it lives. This is one reason why Senators and Representatives like Senator Gallinger of New Hampshire, long chairman of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, who have given a great amount of time and thought and effort to the legislation and appropriations required for the progress of the national capital have not received that appreciation of these particular labors which is their just due. Senator Gallinger, for example, would be praised from one end of the country to the other for his patriotic and constructive work in behalf of the whole country in the upbuilding of this capital but as a rule the newspapers outside of Washington do not mention such labors. However, on the occasion of the centenary of the national capital which was a public holiday in the District of Columbia for that year, the Washington correspondents and the press associations had no news to send out except that of the celebration itself and therefore the addresses at the White House and at the capitol, full of the history of the national capital, of its relation to the national government, and of the plans for its future progress, received ample space in the press and therefore ample attention from the readers of the press. Moreover for months before and after the magazines and periodicals also contained many articles on the subject. Later, in 1902,



HENRY B. F. MACFARLAND

a commission consisting of D. H. Burnham, of Chicago, F. L. Olmsted, of Boston, Charles F. McKim and August St. Gaudens, of New York, the greatest experts of the country, which had been created by the Senate as the outgrowth of the centenary celebration presented to the Senate and the country a comprehensive plan for the park development and for the erection of public buildings and monuments within the District of Columbia, which is the permanent monument of the centenary celebration. This report applying to the entire District the principles of the George Washington original plan for the federal city, was given great space in the press, daily, weekly and monthly publications publishing elaborate articles and illustrations. The country realized for the first time the present beauty and future possibilities of its capital and took a new and enthusiastic interest and pride in its progress.

A Committee of One Hundred Citizens of Washington, of which Dr. Harvey W. Wiley is chairman, is endeavoring to bring to the attention of Congress and of the country anew the facts of the relation of the nation to its capital city with a view to checking legislation in Congress which they regard as hostile to the progress of the national capital. This proposed legislation, the work of a few members of the House, is avowedly intended to put upon the 350,000 people living in the District of Columbia, of whom nearly one hundred thousand are negroes, the largest urban negro population in the world, and forty thousand are government employees, the entire burden of the maintenance and development of the common capital of all Americans by doubling the taxation.

The citizens' committee in a carefully prepared report, which they would be glad to furnish to any one desiring it, points out that this would arrest and practically destroy the further progress, physical and moral, of the capital and that they believe this to be contrary to the desire of patriotic Americans everywhere, all of whom take pride in their national capital and want it to be in all respects as nearly perfect as possible. They show that its present condition is due to the progress of the past thirty-five years since in 1878 Congress, after four years' study by special and regular committees, adopted the present form of government for the District of Columbia and provided that thereafter the District people should pay one-half the expenses and the rest of the country the other half. This is what is called the "half and half" arrangement. It was based on the fact that Washington is the national capital and incidentally that the national government owned (and still owns) at least half in value of the real property and pays no taxes. No protest has ever been made by any organization or individual outside of Washington to Congress in all these years against the "half and half" arrangement and all Americans have been proud of the progress that has resulted. The Senate without a division has rejected two of the four measures sent to it by the House and intended to break up the "half and half" arrangement which measures have been passed in the House when less than one hundred out of the four hundred and thirty-five members were present. This action by the Senate indicates the view which Senators take of the opinion of the country on the subject. However, the

little group of men in the House who are pushing this legislation are persistent and the Washington Committee wants to bring the facts to the attention of all the other members in the House and in the Senate. They state in their report that they believe in the wisdom and justice of Congress when it knows the facts and when all the Senators and Representatives take part in the legislation. As they believe the cause of the national capital to be the cause of the whole country they invite the co-operation of their fellow-countrymen everywhere and ask them to write to their Senators and Representatives requesting that they enact no legislation that would be harmful to the progress of the capital but that they stand by the present arrangement. If the time should ever come, the Committee say, when that arrangement should be re-examined, the Congress should give the same patient and thorough consideration to it which was given between 1874 and 1878 and should substitute something better for it.

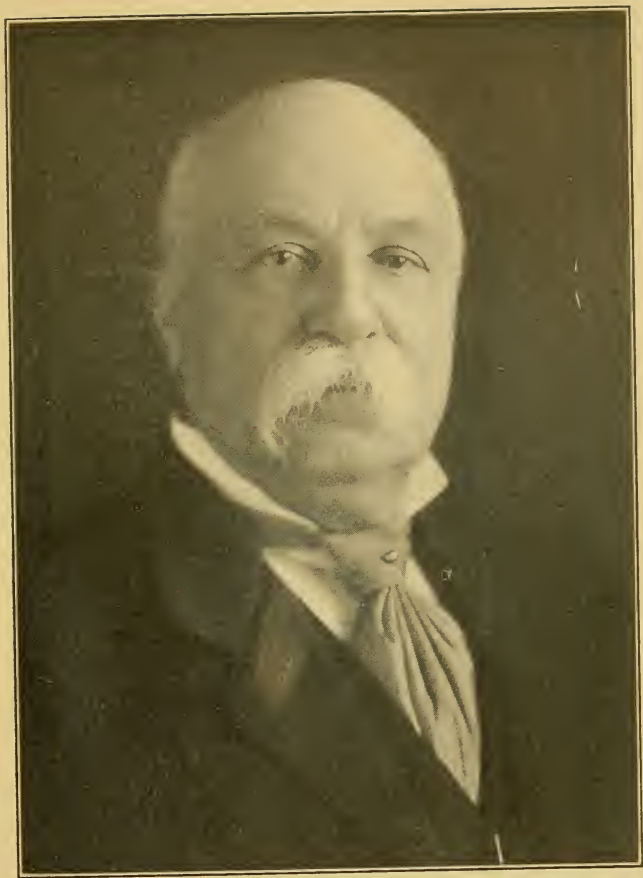
The Washington Committee in their report present the facts which many people do not know that explain why the whole country should contribute to the expenses of the capital. They quote from the celebrated report of the Senate District Committee in 1835 that the national capital is "the child of the Union" and "a creation of the Union for its own purposes." Senator Southard who made that report, personally remembering the founding of the city and familiar with all the official records, said, "The design of the Constitution and its founders was to create a residence for the government where they should have absolute and unlimited control,

which should be regulated and governed by them, without the interference of partial interests of the States, which should be built up and sustained by their effort and resources, not dependent upon the will or resources of any State or local interest."

This fact is also expressed in all the reports of all the Congressional committees, including two joint select committees which studied the question between 1874 and 1878. The great men who passed what the United States Supreme Court has called the "organic act" of 1878—Thurman, Bayard, Allison, Morrill, Abram S. Hewett, Hoar, and men like them, who have gone, not to speak of the living, all took this view. As the joint select committee reporting in December, 1874, said "the streets, avenues, squares, and general plan of the capital city bear the impress of paramount and exclusive nationality; spacious and grand in design, dedicated to the sacred uses of a capital, onerous and intolerable as a charge upon private property, the provision of supervision of all suitable improvements and decorations obviously, properly and imperatively devolves upon Congress; and it will, as it respects the character of its jurisdiction and the dignity of its trust, exercise a jealous care over it."

Absolute sovereignty, exclusive control implied, they held, entire responsibility.

Moreover, they emphasize the fact stated in the report just quoted that "all legislation for the District must be held to be national in character, and primarily in the interests of the American people.
* * * The seat of the supreme executive, legislative and judicial departments of the government, serene in its isolation alike from the conflict of fac-



HON. J. H. GALLINGER, OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

tions and the necessities of commerce was to symbolize the national unity of the people. * * * Congress, by the terms of the Constitution, becomes the trustee of the nation, administers its trust in its interest, and may not share its trusteeship with another to the prejudice of the cestui que trust—the body of the American people.”

It is unique among American cities and unique among national capitals for it is the only purely national and governmental city in the world.

The officers and judges are appointed by the national government, and the courts are federal. The civil and criminal process runs in the name of the President of the United States.

Congress cannot delegate its constitutional duty to exercise “exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever” over the federal district.

The report boils down the official reports of Congress and the government to show:

That the nineteen original proprietors of the land on which the City of Washington stands gave five-sevenths of its area free of cost to the national government which built its first national building chiefly out of the sale of some of that land.

That George Washington as his last great task planned a magnificent capital for the great country that he foresaw in the then infant nation taking over fifty-four per cent of the area for streets and avenues, an unparalleled proportion, besides parks and reservations.

That for reasons set forth in the official reports, the national government practically neglected George Washington’s plan for nearly three-quarters

of a century and left the burden of maintenance and development on the few people resident here.

That the local people bravely attempted to carry out the plans, and, according to official reports, expended up to 1871 at least \$16,000,000 more than the national government, which until that time had spent only a little over \$1,000,000 on the streets and avenues which it absolutely owned, under the gift of the proprietors as interpreted by the United States Supreme Court (4 Peters, 232).

That in doing so they had practically bankrupted themselves twice and in the latest case, between '74 and '78, when Congress through its agents began the execution of the George Washington plans on a large scale, but at the expense of the local people, had staggered till they fell under the intolerable burden.

That thereupon Congress first guaranteed the debt that had been incurred for national capital making and promised to pay its proportionate share, and then spent four years in investigations by five committees, including two joint select committees, and in negotiations with representative citizens of the District, resulting in the "compact of 1878" embodied in the "organic act" of June 11, 1878, as the United States Supreme Court has called it (and also, "the Constitution of the District") and which Congress said was to provide "a permanent form of government," under which the present results have been obtained. All the plans for the betterment of Washington, including the program of social justice and moral reforms recommended by the District Commissioners depend upon the continuance of the present arrangement. The House Ap-

WASHINGTON—OLD AND NEW

propriations Bill rejected all the social program recommended by the District Commissioners, so as to keep unappropriated one and a half millions of District revenues which it then proposed should be taken from the District and covered into the national treasury as national receipts although it had been raised by taxation for local purposes and included the contributions of thousands of persons who could ill afford to pay taxes. The District local revenues next year will be seven million dollars. On this basis the District residents will pay per capita \$20 a year and the rest of the people of the country pay between six and seven cents per capita.

That the people of the District already pay full national taxes (and more than any one of a number of States) and have consented to taxation by Congress higher per capita than that imposed in a majority of the cities of similar population and higher per capita than in the great majority of all cities of the United States of over thirty thousand population as shown in the United States Census report (bulletin 119) published in 1913.

That that bulletin shows that the total assessed valuation of property in Washington in 1912 was \$1,050 per capita, more than the similar per capita in 155 out of the 195 cities having over thirty thousand population.

That the per capita tax levy, the combination of the assessment and the rate; indicating the amount of taxes paid, which is the true measure of taxation, was \$15.75 in Washington in 1912 which is more than the per capita tax levy in 149 out of the 195 cities. These figures cover school tax and all similar levies. Among the 149 cities having a lower

WASHINGTON—OLD AND NEW

per capita tax than Washington are Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Orleans, Jersey City, Seattle, Kansas City (Missouri), Indianapolis, Louisville, St. Paul, Columbus, Toledo, Atlanta, Worcester, Birmingham, Memphis, Scranton and many other great manufacturing and commercial cities of vastly greater wealth than the national capital. A number of them have a larger population.

This is emphatically a city of homes, of small real estate holdings. The official figures at the District building show that there are in the District of Columbia 85,631 buildings of which 25,000 are frame buildings, and that only 3,601 are assessed at five thousand dollars and upwards. Therefore, more than 82,000 of these buildings are assessed at less than \$5,000.00. There are over fifty thousand taxpayers owning small homes.

There are no large fortunes; no large industries or commerce.

As always the increased taxation would fall heaviest on those least able to bear it and would compel hundreds of small property owners to forfeit their equities in their homes, besides increasing the rents of those who pay taxes in rent.

As to the untaxed land holdings of the national government, neither the Congressional reports nor the private statements turn on their exact proportion to private property. It is officially stated, of course, that of the original city area over fifty-four per cent was taken by the national government in fee simple for streets, avenues, parks and reservations. The old city is still the greatest part of the built-up portion of the District of Columbia and includes all its most valuable real estate. Besides this



MUNICIPAL BUILDING
(Shepherd Monument in foreground)

the national government owns about three thousand acres outside of the old city. It is notorious that it has added large tracts of land, partly by river front improvements and partly by acquisition, all of the latter being directly withdrawn from former taxable area. It has at least an equal holding in value to the land in private hands. Congress has also liberally exempted ecclesiastical, charitable and educational property from taxation, reducing the taxable area.

The Congressional reports are most emphatic in resting the argument for the nation's contribution to the upbuilding of its capital upon its national character and the exclusive control of the national government and not upon the proportion of land held by it here.

The makers of the "organic act" of 1878 considered providing a larger contribution by the national government than half of the expense of the national capital. They considered the proposition of having the District people pay reasonable average taxes and having the United States pay whatever else was needed even if it was two-thirds of the whole expense. But they wisely decided that it was better to have the United States pay only one-half of the expense under a definite, permanent arrangement than to leave the national contribution to depend, in the language of Mr. Blackburn of Kentucky, who reported the "organic act" to the House, on the "whim and caprice" of each recurring session, thereby, as he said, making uncertain at once the progress of the capital and the value of every piece of private property in it.

Side Lights

WASHINGTON EXPLAINS THE SENATE

THERE were objections to a permanent President; some would have preferred, as a very few would still prefer, to have a system like that now prevailing in the Swiss Confederation, and to place at the head merely the chairman of a committee. Again, there existed a variety of opinions as to a legislature of one or two Houses. It is said that when Jefferson returned from France he was breakfasting with Washington, and asked him why he agreed to a Senate.

"Why," said Washington, "did you just now pour that coffee into your saucer before drinking it?" "To cool it," said Jefferson; "my throat is not made of brass." "Even so," said Washington, "we pour our legislation into the Senatorial saucer to cool it."—Higginson's "History of the United States."

DOLLY MADISON AND MRS. MONROE

The diary of John Quincy Adams records Cabinet meetings devoted to such momentous questions as who should make the first call, and who should be included in the official visiting lists. Mrs. Monroe, without a Cabinet council, made up her mind to retrench some of these profuse civilities with which her predecessors had fatigued themselves. Mrs. Madison, a large, portly, kindly dame, had retired from office equally

regretted by the poor of Washington and by its high life; but she had gained this popularity at a severe cost:—she had called on all conspicuous strangers. Mrs. Monroe intended to call on nobody. Mrs. Madison had been always ready for visitors when at home; her successor proposed not to receive them except at the regular levees. The ex-Presidentess had presided at her husband's dinner parties, and had invited the wives of all the men who were to be guests; Mrs. Monroe stayed away from the dinner parties, and so the wives were left at home. Add to this that her health was by no means strong, and it is plain that there was great ground for a spasm of unpopularity. She, however, outlived it, reestablished social relations, gave fortnightly receptions, and won much admiration, which she probably deserved.

WHEN BENTON SHOT JACKSON

Jackson engaged in a disgraceful street fight at Nashville with the future Senator Benton and his brother, and the latter inflicted a terrible wound in Jackson's arm with a pistol shot. He was still in bed when the Tennesseans were aiming to avenge Fort Mims. A friend called on Jackson and expressed his deep regret that the Commander of the Militia was not in condition to lead the enemy against the Creeks. Jackson's eyes flashed instantly, and he answered, "The h——l he isn't," whereupon he leaped from his bed and an hour later he was astride his horse at the head of his army.—Parton's "Life of Jackson."

THE ORIGIN OF "OLD HICKORY"

In the early part of the war Jackson raised two thou-

sand troops and was sent down the Mississippi as far as Natchez. But as no enemy appeared, he was ordered, in the spring of 1813, to disband the army. Jackson was very indignant at this order. It was cruel and outrageous, he said, to lead men five hundred miles from home and turn them out without money or food. He chose to disobey the order; he marched the men back to Tennessee, at his own expense. But the Government afterward assumed the expense. The General had three good horses; but these he gave to the sick, while he walked with the rest. While tramping along some one said, "The General is tough," and another added, "As tough as hickory." From this he soon came to be called "Old Hickory," and the name clung to him through life.—Elson's "History of the United States."

JACKSON AS A DUELIST

Jackson's wonderful nerve and physical courage were never shown to greater advantage than in his duel with Charles Dickinson in 1806. Dickinson was one of the richest men, and certainly the best marksman, in Tennessee. He and Jackson had long been enemies, and he frequently tried to provoke Jackson to a duel with the intent to kill him. At last he succeeded by reflecting on the character of Jackson's wife, and the challenge came. The two parties rode into Kentucky, and at day break, on May 30, the duel was fought. Jackson was an excellent shot, but he did not compare with Dickinson, and every one expected that he would be killed. At the word "fire," Dickinson fired instantly, and a puff of dust was seen at Jackson's breast; but he stood like a statue, with clenched teeth. Dickinson stepped back and cried, "My God, have I missed him?"

General Overton, Jackson's second, drew his pistol and ordered Dickinson to stand still. Jackson deliberately fired and shot Dickinson through the body. As they went to the inn it was noticed that Jackson's boots were full of blood. "General, you are hit," cried Overton. "Oh, I believe he has pinked me a little," said Jackson; "but don't mention it over there," pointing to the home where Dickinson lay dying.

It was found that Dickinson's aim had been perfect, but that his bullet had only broken a rib and raked the breastbone. Jackson, asked how he could stand motionless with such a wound, said, "I should have hit him if he had shot me through the brain."—Parton's "Life of Jackson.

COULDN'T FOOL JACKSON

"Do you think," said Jackson, in 1821, "that I am such a damned fool as to think myself fit for the Presidency? No, sir; I know what I am good for. I can command a body of men in a rough way, but I am not fit to be President."—Parton's "Life of Jackson."

JACKSON AND THE SUPREME COURT

When President, he (Jackson) refused to be bound by the Supreme Court, on the ground that he would sustain the Constitution as he understood it, and not as it was interpreted by others. For example, when Georgia had trouble with the Creeks, she condemned a half-breed named Tassels to be hanged. Tassels appealed to the Supreme Court, and the decision was reversed. The State then was cited on a writ of error. But Georgia was defiant and refused to be bound by the decision. It was now Jackson's plain duty to en-

WASHINGTON—OLD AND NEW

force the decision of the Supreme Court, but he refused to do so. "John Marshall has made his decision," he is reported to have said, "now let him enforce it"—and Tassels was hanged.—Elson's "History of the United States."

HOW VAN BUREN "PLAYED SAFE"

One day Van Buren handed an official paper that he had written to a clerk to be criticized, and the latter declared that he couldn't tell what it was about. "Very well," answered Van Buren, "it will answer then." A member of Congress, it was said, made a bet with another that if Van Buren were asked if the sun rose in the east or west, he would not give a direct answer. The question was asked and the answer was "My friend, east and west are altogether relative terms."—Elson's "History of the United States."

MORSE'S FIGHT FOR THE TELEGRAPH

Samuel F. B. Morse had labored for years on the telegraph, and had almost reduced himself to penury. In 1842, he was granted the privilege of setting up his telegraph in the lower rooms of the Capitol. The experiment was successful, and the members of Congress could hardly believe their senses as Morse enabled them to converse with one another from the different rooms. And yet, when he asked an appropriation of \$30,000 to establish an experimental line from Washington to Baltimore, there was much opposition. Many were the shafts of ridicule thrust at the new invention. One member moved that half of the appropriation be used to experiment in mesmerism; another that an appropriation be made to construct a railroad to the



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

moon. One prominent member pronounced all "magnetic telegraphs miserable chimeras, fit for nothing." Another lost his seat in the House at the next election because he voted for the appropriation. While the debate was in progress Morse stood leaning against the railing in the House in great agitation. A friend went to console him, and Morse, placing his hand to his head, said: "I have an awful headache * * * I have spent seven years in perfecting this invention, and all that I had. * * * If the bill fails, I am ruined. * * * I have not money enough to pay my board bill." He was greatly relieved soon after by the passing of the bill. His fortune was made, and the name of Morse must forever be inseparable from the telegraph.—Sargent's "Public Men and Events."

JOHN RANDOLPH AND HENRY CLAY

No man ever in public life in America had greater power in winning personal friends than Henry Clay. When John Randolph, who had been Clay's political enemy for many years, and with whom he had fought a duel, visited Washington in the last year of his life, he called on Clay. Clay received him very kindly, and asked about his health. Randolph replied, "I'm dying, Clay, I'm dying." "Why, then," asked Clay, "do you venture so far from home, why did you come here?" "To see you," answered Randolph, "to see you and have one more talk with you."

CLAY AND VAN BUREN "BEHIND THE SCENES"

On one occasion when Henry Clay was making a tour through the South, there was on the same train a farmer, an old school Democrat, who was invited to

step into the next car and meet Clay. "No," he answered, "I would not be seen shaking hands with Henry Clay, the old Whig." He was informed that his idol, Van Buren, would never do such a thing. He offered to make a bet that he was right and agreed to let Clay decide the bet. They came to Clay's seat and stated the case. "Yes," answered Clay, "Van Buren is a good friend of mine and he made me a visit at my home in Lexington. Setting aside his bad politics, he is an agreeable gentleman and a right clever little fellow." The man paid his bet and went away muttering that if this is the way the great men acted they might fight their own battles thereafter; he didn't believe they were in earnest anyhow, only pretended to be so far as to set others by the ears.—Sargent's "Public Men and Events."

HENRY CLAY'S READY WIT

Clay was a man of ready wit, and he often astonished his friends by his answers. The following is a sample: One day, while at a Philadelphia hotel, he was called on by John W. Forney, editor of the *Press*, in company with Forrest, the actor. It was just after the great debates in the Senate on the Omnibus Bill, and these debates soon became the topic of conversation, especially the opposition Clay had encountered from Senator Soule, of Louisiana. Whereupon Clay exclaimed, "Soule is not an orator, he is nothing but an actor, a mere actor." No sooner had he said this than he realized the presence of Forrest, the actor, and, turning to him, added, "I mean, my dear sir, a French actor, a mere French actor."—Forney's "Anecdotes of Men."

WASHINGTON—OLD AND NEW

THE POMPOUS LEWIS CASS

One of the leading hotels in Washington at this period (in the forties) was Guy's Hotel, and here many of the leading Government officials, including General Cass, stayed while at the Capital. It happened that General Cass and Mr. Guy, the hotelkeeper, both large, corpulent men, looked very much alike, and each was often mistaken for the other. One day a western man came to the hotel and met General Cass on the porch and, taking him for Guy, slapped him on the shoulder and began, "Here I am again, old fellow; last time I hung up my hat in your shanty, they put me on the fourth floor. Want a better room this time. How about it, old man?" Cass braced himself up with great dignity and answered: "Sir, you've committed a blunder. I'm General Cass, of Michigan," turned about, and walked off. The man stood and looked after him, dazed at his mistake. Presently Cass walked around that way again and the man again took him for Guy and exclaimed: "Here you are at last; I've just made a devil of a blunder. I met old Cass and took him for you, and I'm afraid the old Michigander has gone off mad." Just then Guy appeared on the scene.

WHEN LINCOLN CAME AS PRESIDENT

Lincoln's journey to the Capital was roundabout. He passed through most of the large northern cities, and in his brief addresses he seemed to treat the grave state of the country too lightly, declaring that there was no need of fear that there would be any bloodshed. When in Philadelphia on February 22d, he received letters from Seward and General Scott advising that his published programme be changed, as there were serious threats

WASHINGTON—OLD AND NEW

of assassinating him when he passed through Baltimore. To this he refused to agree. "I cannot consent to it," said he, "what would the Nation think of its President stealing into the Capital like a thief in the night?" He went to Harrisburg that morning and there it was determined by his friends that it was needless to endanger his life, and that he should go to Washington incognito during the coming night. Lincoln yielded, but he ever afterward regretted having done so. Colonel Scott, President of the Pennsylvania Railroad, took entire charge of the project. He cut all the telegraph wires leading out of Harrisburg and sent Lincoln with a single companion, Colonel Lamon, to Philadelphia to catch the night train to Washington. Everything went smoothly, and after the friends of Lincoln had spent a sleepless night at Harrisburg, the wires being repaired about daybreak, they received the cipher telegram previously agreed on, "Plums delivered, nuts safely," and Colonel Scott threw his hat into the air and shouted, "Lincoln, in Washington."—See McClure's "Lincoln and Men of War Times."



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 014 368 732 6